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T H E
W O R K S
O F
JOHN SHEFFIELD,
EARL of MULGRAVE,
MARQUIS of NORMANBY,
A N D
DUKE of *BUCKINGHAM.*

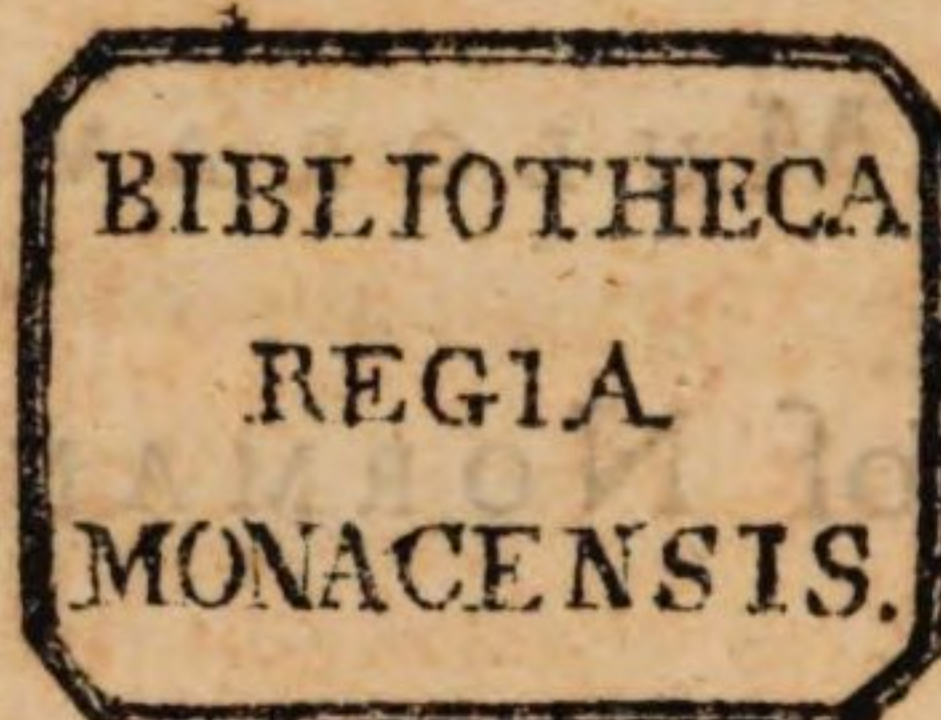
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MEMOIRS

MEMOIRS

O F

H I S G R A C E

J O H N

Duke of *Buckingham*.

Written by H I M S E L F.

VOL. II.

B

MEMOIRS

HIS GRACE

JOHN

Duke of Buckingham.

Written by Himself.

VOL. II. B



MEMOIRS.

HAVING observed, that Memoirs and Accounts of persons, tho' not very considerable, when written by themselves, have been greedily read, and often found useful; not only for the knowledge of things past, but as cautions for the future: I have chosen to employ some part of that leisure, which I have had by intervals (and which by reason of decaying health and vigour I know not how to spend better) in setting down exactly and impartially all I could remember of myself, fit to be made public; a kind of picture left behind me to my friends and family, very like, tho' neither well painted, nor handsome.

I SHALL begin it at the age of seventeen; when hearing every where the Earl of OSSORY commended, for being a voluntier that summer in a hot engagement at sea; I went thither directly on board that ship, in which Prince RUPERT and the Duke of ALBEMARLE jointly commanded the fleet against the *Dutch*.

THEIR usage of me was so civil, and the company on board them so good, that (tho' by a sudden storm that parted the two fleets just ready to engage, I lost six weeks time there, at an age when it may be a great deal more pleasantly spent, yet) I stay'd till the fleet was laid up, not only without impatience, but any sort of uneasiness.

YET 'tis observable, that the first night we came to *London*, the Lord BLANY, Sir THOMAS CLIFFORD afterwards Lord Treasurer, Mr. HENRY SAVILL, and myself (tho' such familiar friends, as to be very often together for many years after) were then so fatiated and cloy'd with each other, by our being shut up together so long in one ship, that I remember we avoided one another's company at least for a whole month after ; tho', except myself, there could hardly be any more pleasant.

WHILE I was in that ship with Prince RUPERT and the Duke of ALBEMARLE, I observed the latter to leave all things to the conduct and skill of the other, declaring modestly upon all occasions himself to be no seaman : And yet there happened once a hot dispute between them, which will shew some part of that Duke's character. When we first espied the *Dutch* fleet sailing towards us, our whole blue squadron was astern much farther from us, so that Prince RUPERT thought it absolutely necessary to slacken sail, that they might have time to join us. But the Duke of ALBEMARLE opposed it eagerly, undertaking, that the ship in which they were, with about twenty ships more, would prove sufficient to beat all the enemies fleet, at least, hold them in play till the rest of ours came up. The Prince, astonished at such an unaccountable intrepidity, made us smile to see him take on himself the timorous, cautious, and prudential part, which did not use to be his custom ; he declared he would never consent to such a rashness as might very probably cost us the loss of our Admiral's ship, and consequently of our whole fleet afterwards ; which obliged the good old man to yield at last, but with a great deal of reluctance.

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As soon as the bloody flag was set up, before the storm arose which parted us, Mr. SAVILL and myself being on the quarter-deck, 'spied him charging a very little pistol, and putting it in his pocket ; which was so odd a sort of weapon on such an occasion, that we two could imagine no reason for it, except his having taken a resolution of going down into the powder-room to blow up the ship, in case at any time it should be in danger of being taken : For he had often said he would answer for nothing, but that we should never be carried into *Holland* : and therefore Mr. SAVILL and I, in a laughing way, most mutinously resolved to throw him overboard, in case we should ever catch him going down to the powder-room.

OUR fleet happening afterwards to go near the shore to take in fresh water, Prince RUPERT dined with a gentleman who lived thereabouts ; and returning on board in a little boat with only the Lord BLANY and myself, there happened so sudden and violent a storm, that we did not like it ; and Prince RUPERT began to talk of Prince MAURICE's being cast away by a like accident ; upon which, I could not but reflect on my family also, since my grandfather and three of his brothers had been drowned. The Lord BLANY hearing all this, made us smile in the midst of our danger, by swearing, that tho' he liked our company, he wished himself out of it, and in any other boat whatsoever ; since he feared the ill fortune of our two families wou'd sink him.

THIS was the last year of the first *Dutch* war ; yet before it ended, they burnt some of our best ships at *Chatham*, and designed to make a descent upon our coasts ; which occasioned the raising of several independent troops of horse ; of which I had one given me, and was so foolishly fond of

it (being my first military command) that I endured my quarters at *Dover* as contentedly, and was as sorry for being disbanded upon the peace, as if I had been a mere soldier of fortune.

AT the next meeting of Parliament, I receiv'd a writ to sit there ; and being known by every body to be younger by three years than the prefixed age for the voting in the *House of Peers*, it was opposed by ALGERNOON Earl of NORTHUMBERLAND, who very gravely moved, that they would rather exclude Lords till some years above the age of one and twenty, instead of admitting one so much younger. In this he certainly was in the right ; and I acquiesced in it the more willingly, because that heat of youth (which was his objection) made me a great deal more inclined to something else, than to sitting there. Accordingly I followed it with too much eagerness, and without interruption, till the second *Dutch* war. During this time, and heat of temper, I had the good fortune not to be engaged in more than one quarrel ; but that had somewhat in it singular enough to be related. I was informed, that the Earl of ROCHESTER had said something of me, which, according to his custom, was very malicious ; I therefore sent Colonel ASTON, a very mettled friend of mine, to call him to an account for it. He denied the words, and indeed I was soon convinced he had never said them ; but the mere report, tho' I found it to be false, obliged me (as I then foolishly thought) to go on with the quarrel ; and the next day was appointed for us to fight on horseback, a way in *England* a little unusual, but it was his part to chuse. Accordingly I and my Second lay the night before at *Knightbridge* privately, to avoid the being secured at *London* upon any suspicion ;

picion ; which yet we found ourselves more in danger of there, because we had all the appearance of highwaymen that had a mind to lie skulking in an odd Inn, for one night ; but this I suppose the people of that house were used to, and so took no notice of us, but liked us the better. In the morning we met the Lord ROCHESTER at the place appointed, who, instead of JAMES PORTER, whom he assured ASTON he would make his Second, brought an errant life-guard-man whom no body knew. To this Mr. ASTON took exception, upon the account of his being no suitable adversary, especially considering how extremely well he was mounted, whereas we had only a couple of pads : Upon which we all agreed to fight on foot. But, as my Lord ROCHESTER and I were riding into the next field in order to it, he told me, that he had at first chosen to fight on horseback, because he was so weak with a certain distemper, that he found himself unfit to fight at all any way, much less a-foot. I was extremely surpriz'd, because at that time no man had a better reputation for courage ; and (my anger against him being quite over, because I was satisfied that he never spoke those words I resented) I took the liberty of representing what a ridiculous story it would make, if we return'd without fighting ; and therefore advised him for both our sakes, especially for his own, to consider better of it ; since I must be obliged in my own defence to lay the fault on him, by telling the truth of the matter. His answer was, that he submitted to it, and hoped that I would not desire the advantage of having to do with any man in so weak a condition. I replied, that by such an argument he had sufficiently tied my hands, upon condition I might call our Seconds

to be witnesses of the whole business ; which he consented to, and so we parted. When we returned to *London*, we found it full of this quarrel, upon our being absent so long ; and therefore Mr. ASTON thought himself obliged to write down every word and circumstance of this whole matter, in order to spread every where the true reason of our returning without having fought ; which being never in the least either contradicted or resented by the Lord ROCHESTER, intirely ruined his reputation as to courage (of which I was really sorry to be the occasion) tho' no body had still a greater as to wit ; which supported him pretty well in the world, notwithstanding some more accidents of the same kind, that never fail to succeed one another, when once people know a man's weakness.

WITHIN a few years after, a war against the *Dutch* was again declared, tho' not till a squadron of our ships had endeavoured to intercept and surprize their *Smyrna* fleet a little unfairly ; of which design we failed very oddly, and by a fault that had certainly been punished under a wise administration. Sir EDWARD SPRAGG, who heard nothing of the war, returned home in company with those very *Smyrna* merchants ; and with his whole squadron sailing faster than they, passed by ours that lay in wait for them ; and yet Sir ROBERT HOLMES, our commander, and alone trusted with the secret, would not so much as communicate it to Sir EDWARD SPRAGG, because he must have commanded both squadrons, (as being the superior officer) and consequently deprive him of a prize, which, instead of that, prov'd an errant Tartar : For the *Smyrna* merchants, together with their *Dutch* convoy, made their part good against Sir ROBERT HOLMES's squadron,

squadron, and so got safe home, merely for want of Sir EDWARD SPRAGG's being called to his assistance.

THE Duke of YORK, always eager after a military fame, and Admiral of *England*, commanded the fleet in person that summer ; which made me go a voluntier once more, tho' I confess not with half so good a will as before, my heart being engaged violently at that time, and I can never forget the tenderness of our parting.

I WAITED on the Duke in his own ship, where I intended to stay ; but meeting the Earl of OSSORY there, who was both my kinsman and friend, and commanded the *Victory*, a second rate ship, he invited me so earnestly to be with him, that I accepted his kindness, and afterwards found I could not have been any where else so well, on several accounts, since no man ever did more bravely than he on all occasions.

SOON after, I had some experience of the Duke's firmness in any resolution he had once taken ; for tho' he grew so very kind to me, as to favour me in much greater matters, yet I could never prevail on him to grant me one request, which at that time I thought it a little hard to be denied. My request was, that if in the next engagement he perceived any ship to fail of doing its duty, by reason of her Captain's being killed, (which was but too usual) he would then send me an order to go on board and command her immediately ; whereby, instead of being an insignificant Voluntier, I might have an opportunity of doing the fleet some service, and of gaining some honour. But tho' he knew it well, and allowed the reason of the thing, as being the only way of making the voluntiers useful ; yet he counted it too great an alteration of the settled orders, which
gave

gave the Lieutenant in such a case the same power which his Captain before had, tho' seldom found to make good use of it.

OUR scouts having been negligent, DE RUITER with his whole fleet surpriz'd ours at *Southwold Bay*; so that weighing anchor in great haste, we had much ado to defend ourselves from their fireships: DE RUITER himself was seen nobly to go in a boat from ship to ship, to direct and animate his men, ordering all his ships to attack only our great ones; which, not being much above twenty, were hard put to it by so great a number of theirs. Yet the enemy had no success to boast of, except the burning our *Royal James*; which, having on board her, not only a thousand of our best men, but the Earl of SANDWYCH himself, Vice-Admiral of *England*, was enough almost to stile it a victory on their side, since his merit as to sea affairs was most extraordinary in all kinds. He dined in Mr. DIGBY's ship the day before the battle, when nobody dreamt of fighting, and shew'd a gloomy discontent so contrary to his usual chearful humour, that we even then all took notice of it, but much more afterwards.

THE enemy also was once master of the *Royal Katherine*, and had sent away her Captain Sir JOHN CHICHELY with most of her men, to be kept prisoners in other ships, a few only remaining there, whom they stowed under hatches, with a guard over them. But the boatswain being among them, with his whistle encouraged the rest to knock down all the sentinels first, and then to fall on the *Dutch* above deck; by which brisk action they redeemed that considerable ship. The boatswain's name was SMALL, whom I had opportunity of knowing well afterwards, when I had
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the command of that ship. He was a *Nonconformist*, always sober, meek, and quiet (even too mild for that bustling sort of employment) and very often gave me an image of those enthusiastic people, who did such brave things in our late *Civil War* : For he seem'd rather a Shepherd than a Soldier, and was a kind of heroe in the shape of a saint.

BUT the Duke of YORK himself had the noblest share in this day's action ; for, when his ship was so maim'd as to be made incapable of service, he made her lie by to refit, and went on board another that was hotly engaged, where he kept up his standard till she was disabled also, and then left her for a third, in order to renew the fight, which lasted from break of day till sun-set. About which time, the whole *French* squadron happened to sail close by the Lord OSSORY's ship ; and I well remember there did not appear so many shot in them all, as in his Lordship's single ship, whose condition therefore was judg'd too bad to keep the sea any longer. I then found by experience in this engagement, how much there is of custom in the matter of courage, which makes old troops so formidable : For in the morning, when the enemy's great shot came on both sides of us, I thought it impossible to 'scape without losing a limb at least, and was accordingly pretty uneasy ; but, about the afternoon, when the broadsides came only one way, though without interruption, I began to grow a little less sensible of the danger, which yet I was very glad to see ended at night. By that time I was very sufficiently tired, but yet had much ado to sleep, by reason of the noise still sounding in my ears ; which remained so for some hours, just as if the shooting had still continued. I observ'd also two things,

things, which I dare affirm, tho' not generally believ'd. One was, that the wind of a cannon-bullet, tho' flying never so near, is incapable of doing the least harm ; and indeed, were it otherwise, no man above deck would escape. The other was, that a great shot may be sometimes avoided even as it flies, by changing one's ground a little ; for, when the wind sometimes blew away the smoak, it was so clear a sun-shiny day, that we could easily perceive the bullets (that were half spent) fall in the water, and from thence bound up again among us, which gives sufficient time for making a step or two on any side ; tho' in so swift a motion, 'tis hard to judge well in what line the bullet comes ; which, if mistaken, may by removing cost a man his life, instead of saving it.

As soon as I came to *London* (whither I made all the haste imaginable, for reasons not hard to guess) I found by my reception every where, that my Lord OSSORY's kind and partial letters had arrived there before me ; for the King made me some particular compliments, and offered me the choice of commanding the *Henry* or the *Royal Katherine* ; the Captain of the first having been killed, and the other taken prisoner. I chose the *Katherine* ; and, since I had been so fond of a troop of horse, 'tis no wonder I was now extremely pleased with the command of a royal ship, better in all respects than my Lord OSSORY's, and of a rate above what I could have pretended to ; for even he, who was so much more considerable on all accounts, had only a third rate ship granted him at first, whereas the *Katherine* was then the best of all the second rates.

MEMOIRS

In the REIGN of

CHARLES II.

MEMOIRS

CHARLES H.

MEMOIRS

In the REIGN of

CHARLES II.

I HAVE found much more satisfaction, and, I may say, instruction too, from those small pieces of history called *Memoirs*, than in reading all the *Greek* and *Roman* historians: The reason of which would require a digression too long for this place. But my own experience of this is sufficient to make me do as I would be done by, in a matter so easy for me; and to give as particular an account of some few things I know, as I should be glad to have from others, about those many considerable affairs of which I am ignorant.

THAT which confirms me in the opinion, that even this slight account will be in some measure useful, is the exact impartiality I am resolved to observe in it. Tho', I confess, it remained a difficulty with me a good while, how to lay aside entirely, not only my inclinations, but my obligations also; which latter, methought, it was a kind of ingratitude to suspend the thoughts of, tho' but for a moment: Yet, without doing this,

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I thought it would be as ridiculous to write (tho' like most other authors) as to publish my dreams, or expose all the follies of my own passions.

NOTWITHSTANDING this, I would not have all I say taken for infallible, except only the matters of fact. For, as to the designs of men, and the true reasons of their acting, affairs of this world are like a dye, with many fides on it, and one gamester can only see those which are turn'd towards him. But then, if others would discover as much, we might hope the true *Memoirs* would make a little amends for the frequent *perjuries* of our times; and in those, at least, we might find the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth.

IN the year 1672, Monsieur DE SCHOMBERG was invited into *England* to command the new-raised army incamped on *Blackheath*, which at first was under the * Duke of BUCKINGHAM only, who had a commission of Lieutenant-General. But he being no great soldier, and on ill terms with the Duke of YORK, who influenc'd all our military affairs at that time, it was thought convenient to join with him a person of such reputation as SCHOMBERG. And he was chosen the rather, because his advancement in *France*, next to his own good conduct, was owing chiefly to the Duke of YORK, when in that service: For by the ancient treaties between *France* and *Scotland*, the Duke of ALBANY having always the disposal of their *Scotch* Guards; the *French* King made him the compliment of leaving the commander of them to his choice, which he fixed on Monsieur DE SCHOMBERG.

As soon as he arrived, partly on account of his great reputation and success in *Portugal*, and

* GEORGE VILLERS, Duke of *Buckingham*,
partly

partly encouraged to it by his friends, or rather the Duke of BUCKINGHAM's enemies, he refused to serve equally with him, and so obtained a commission to be General ; upon which, as was expected, the other quitted the service immediately.

JUST at this time the Duke of MONMOUTH was setting up in *France* to be a soldier ; and being so favoured at *Maestrich* by the *French* King, as to have a sure and easy attack kept back on purpose till his day came of commanding ; the credit here of that action (tho' only a noble sort of present from that Prince's generosity and friendship for his father) sufficed to give him a reputation ever after. Our fleet was now ready to sail, together with the new-raised army, to make a descent in *Holland* ; the whole commanded in chief by Prince RUPERT, with the title of Generalissimo.

I AM apt to believe there never was seen before so great a fleet as this of ours when the *French* squadron joined with it, convoying 8000 land soldiers, all shipp'd in small vessels, which was some addition to the magnificence of so terrible, and yet so goodly a spectacle.

THE reason why the Duke of YORK, whose heart was set on such things, did not shine as the year before, at the head of all these troops, was his refusing the Test passed in Parliament the last winter on purpose to exclude him ; so that, as soon as ever his enemies had set the snare, he fell into it.

THE *Greyhound* being the best of those small vessels which accompanied the fleet, was chosen by Monsieur DE SCHOMBERG for himself and me, who happened to serve in that expedition under him, and with whom I had the good fortune to live in some familiarity and friendship.

THERE being often occasion of our speaking with other officers, who, in hazy weather especially, were at a loss sometimes how to find out the *Greyhound* in the midst of such a multitude of other ships, Monsieur DE SCHOMBERG inquired of me one day, if it might not be proper to hang up something for a signal, by which all the land officers might know whither to repair, either to give account of their condition, or to receive his orders. I presently answered, that, tho' last summer I had the honour of commanding a great ship, yet I was but a young seaman, and therefore only advised him to consult with CLEMENT, the captain of the *Greyhound*, who by right also was to be principally regarded in his own ship. Captain CLEMENT was sent for, and presently consented to a thing which he thought not only reasonable but necessary to prevent delays or mistakes ; which made the General, according to his accustomed civility, ask my consent to hang up in the shrouds one of the colours of my own regiment that happened to lie then on the deck, saying, that he chose such a sort of signal, as more proper for him to make use of, than any of those which belonged to the sea. But it had not been set up half an hour, when both of us sitting together on the quarter-deck, heard a bullet whizzing over our heads, and another in the same manner presently after ; at which we began to think cannon-bullets that came so near a little worth the minding, but were extremely surprized to perceive they came from the Admiral.

By this time Captain CLEMENT was alarmed also, and he confirming the General's apprehension of Prince RUPERT's disliking his signal, was sent immediately to explain the occasion of its being set up, and to receive the Prince's orders either

ther in that or any thing else, which should instantly be obeyed.

BUT the Prince in the mean time sent Lieutenant WHITLY with his positive command to pull down the flag ; who arriving on board the *Greyhound* just after Captain CLEMENT had been sent away, it was thought so impossible for the Prince to remain unsatisfied after he should hear CLEMENT about it, that WHITLY was desired to return with this respectful answer, That if his Highness continued in the same mind after hearing the occasion from Captain CLEMENT, the flag should be taken down immediately. But the Prince, seeing WHITLY's boat come from the *Greyhound* without the flag's being taken down, and Captain CLEMENT just arrived on board him, in great anger orders him to be clapp'd into the bilboes, without so much as hearing either him, or his message : and commanded his gunner to sink the *Greyhound* immediately if the flag was not taken down.

In such a case of extremity, the Volunteers of quality on board the Prince took the liberty of interposing a little, and conjured him to have only the patience of letting some of them go presently to the *Greyhound*, in order to prevent any misunderstanding ; considering that some allowance might be made for a mistake in a land-officer and a stranger. It was not hard for persons of that rank (amongst whom was the Earl of CARLISLE, a Privy Counsellor, and what was more, a great friend of the Prince's) to be connived at in going immediately on board the *Greyhound* : and it was as easy for them to persuade us all immediately to pull down our flag rather than be sunk. But neither they, nor I, who was a little concerned with him in the ill usage, were able to pacify the general ;

ral ; who interpreted all this harsh way of proceeding, as coming from an old pique in Prince RUPERT, who was too well bred otherwise to use an old acquaintance and a foreigner in such a brutal manner, as he called it.

THE Court was inclined before, not to be overpartial to Prince RUPERT, who seem'd as jealous as any body of its growing arbitrary by any great success over *Holland*, though himself was Generalissimo against it ; and I was obliged to write an account of it to the King so plainly and impartially, that all the Prince's complaints on his side were insignificant, which, added to his jealousy of the court, incited him to command away all the land-forces to *Yarmouth* ; where they lay encamped all summer by the sea-side, without being ever reembarked, or able to do the least service. Monsieur DE SCHOMBERG obeyed, but took no leave of the Prince, and engaged me presently to carry him a challenge after the expedition was over ; which the King prevented, tho' not out of kindness to either of them : For as he was unsatisfied with the Prince's conduct that summer, so Monsieur DE SCHOMBERG's popularity, among the disaffected gentlemen in the country, was unjustly represented to his prejudice by some Papists there, who took his affable sort of behaviour (which he thought necessary in a stranger, intending to settle here) for a factious design of complying with the country Party.

THIS was the cause of the Duke of MONMOUTH's advancement ; for the Duke of YORK, esteeming his forwardness and inclination to the war, thought him the fittest person to be set up against SCHOMBERG, from whom he was now perfectly alienated ; and so made his court to the King at the same time by recommending his beloved

loved Son to be at the head of our military affairs, which himself hoped to influence still by that means. Yet SCHOMBERG's staying here, to which he was inclined by his disposition as well as religion, had been an invincible obstacle to all these designs ; if the disgust he took at being refused the garter, had not soon contributed to his leaving us ; which favour it seems he had long desired, tho' so privately, that I happen'd to receive the promise of it in his camp at *Yarmouth*, without having the least imagination that my General had been my rival ; who resented it a little the more, because it was then bestowed on one who was but a Colonel under him. Thus all things concurr'd with the Duke of MONMOUTH's ambition, as soon as Prince RUPERT was out of favour, and the Duke of YORK out of capacity, by reason of the late Test against *Papists*.

THERE was yet one thing more, which in exactness I must not omit, that much contributed to this young man's advancement ; I mean the great friendship the Duke of YORK had openly professed to his wife, a lady of wit, and reputation ; who had both the ambition of making her husband considerable, and the address of succeeding in it, by using her interest in so friendly an Uncle, whose design I believe was only to convert her. Whether this familiarity of theirs was contrived, or only connived at by the Duke of MONMOUTH himself, is hard to determine : But I well remember that after these two Princes had become declared enemies, the Duke of YORK one day told me with some emotion, as conceiving it a new mark of his nephew's insolence, that he had forbidden his wife to receive any more visits from him. At which I could not forbear frankly replying, that I who was not used to excuse him, yet could not

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hold

hold from doing it in that case ; wishing his Highness might have no juster cause to complain of him. Upon which the Duke, surprized to find me excuse his and my own enemy, changed the discourse immediately.

THE first step of the Duke of MONMOUTH's rising to authority in the army, was his being intrusted with the care, tho' not the command of it ; which the Lord ARLINGTON consented to (notwithstanding in *France*, 'tis a part of his province, as chief Secretary of State) both in friendship to him, and for his own ease, since it saved him the trouble of such affairs, without diminution either to his power or profit ; since all commissions still passed through the Secretary's hands, and only orders now through the Duke's. The second advance he made, was the King's sending his commands to every Colonel that they should obey all directions which came from the Duke of MONMOUTH. This wanted but the formality of a commission to make him an absolute General ; and yet even thus far the Duke of YORK assisted him, so blinded he was by his fondness of either husband or wife, or rather I think of both together.

BUT now an odd accident, only worth relating on that account, will let us see the great uncertainty of court-affairs, as well as the ignorance of those who most commonly write of them ; very gravely attributing to prudence or providence, what is often nothing else but humour, love, or jealousy : For, notwithstanding all this intimacy between the Duke of YORK, and his Nephew ; such a firm one, that even a direct contrary interest was unable to weaken ; yet a little inconstancy in one of their Mistresses, tho' in favour of a third person, was the accidental cause of such a division

division between them, as never ceas'd till it cost one of them the hazard of his Crown, and the other that of his life on a Scaffold.

ALL which, in compliance with your commands, shall be set down freely and faithfully, tho' not possible to be recounted without too frequent mention of my self.

AT our return from *Yarmouth*, the old *Holland* regiment was given me, and joined to another I had raised ; by which I remain'd in command after the peace, when all our new Colonels were disbanded. This, I suppose, made those two Dukes think of me soon after for commanding the first regiment of Foot-guards, and design'd the King should buy Colonel RUSSEL out of it for that purpose ; having before prevailed with the good Lord CRAVEN to let me come over his head, who commanded the second regiment. But just while this was settling, the Duke of MONMOUTH, ever engaged in some Amour, falls into great Anger against me, for an unlucky discovery that made too much noise in the Court at that time.

HE had always great temper and therefore offered no affront on the place ; but wanted not the cunning to revenge himself a better way, by privately obtaining a promise of the King to let him have that command which was designed for me : foreseeing then his own would become void, and perhaps be given to me, he proposed the Earl of OSSORY for that, against whom there could be no objection ; so stopping up my way in both places.

THE Duke of YORK having openly made us friends, suspected no such artifice and counterplotting in his Nephew as he found him but too capable of afterwards, in a much greater matter : Accordingly he thought it time to move the King

about that alteration in the Guards, not in the least apprehending a repulse. For the King, tho' of more Wit than most of those who influenced him, had that *Foible* of his Family to be easily imposed on; so that it was a constant method among his Ministers, first to settle what they agreed to be done, and then offer it to the King; like an Act of Parliament, to which the negative voice is seldom apprehended.

BUT now that way of proceeding was the loss of our business, and the design miscarried only by the closeness of its management: For, the King assured his Brother, that never dreaming of this his proposal he was engaged already, but yet to another of his great Friends; and then naming him, wondred at his being no sooner acquainted with it.

THE Duke was pleased to tell me this presently with great resentment, not only for my disappointment, but that an alteration should be resolved on in the two best commands of the army, without his being first acquainted with it. It was natural for a man who lost his pretension, not to lessen this concern in the Duke; and therefore I, who during the Duke of MONMOUTH's quarrel to me, had often tried in vain to shake his Interest in that Prince, would not lose so fair an occasion to part them for ever.

I told him therefore of how little importance my own share in this business was, which I found amply recompensed by his being so much concerned about it. But I confess'd my self extremely troubled at another part of this affair, which gave me a strange sort of suspicion. The Duke could not fail to inquire what it was, and with a seeming reluctance I explained it. That the Duke of MONMOUTH's own command of the horse life-guard,

guard, was better than Colonel RUSSEL's regiment of foot, both for honour and profit ; and therefore he would hardly change it thus, without some ill design, to which twenty-four companies of foot might be more useful, than a single troop of horse.

THAT, disappointing of me, was not his only aim ; since he might have had that satisfaction, as well by getting the Earl of OSSORY into that regiment, without taking it himself by leaving a better post for it.

As the Duke grew warm at this, I ingag'd him more, by freely quitting my own pretension, if his Highness could find a trusty man for it, whom the Duke of MONMOUTH could have no pretence to oppose, as he did me, on account of our quarrel ; representing it to be a post of such consequence, that, one day, perhaps, no less a thing than the Crown of *England* might depend on it.

THE Duke accepted kindly the laying down my pretension, and proposed some others for that command, but to no purpose : For, the King reproach'd him with opposing a thing already settled between Himself and his Son. Upon which almost in despair, he tried a little with my Lord ARLINGTON, the Duke of MONMOUTH's great Adviser at that time ; freely making him understand, That if the Duke of MONMOUTH would not desist of himself from pressing it any farther, he must lose his friendship, which had been so useful to him ; and consequently, pay too dear a price for what was but a trifle in comparison with it : To which, that dextrous Minister replied something haughtily, That the Duke of MONMOUTH could not need his favour more than his Highness needed the King's, which he might hazard

zard to lessen, by thus crossing his inclinations for so beloved a Son.

WITH this surprizing answer from a Secretary of State, the Duke grew more concern'd than ever ; and at last was driven on the only expedient now left ; which, in the first place, serv'd the Duke's interest, by securing that employment in safe hands ; and next, my own revenge, in keeping the Duke of MONMOUTH out of it. He was advised therefore to send immediately for Colonel RUSSEL, who was very covetous, and by any means whatsoever, *viz.* by any money, to charm him out of his resolution to sell his command ; which the King was so far from imposing on an ancient officer of such merit and quality, that he kindly assured him, no such change had ever been thought of, if Mr. RUSSEL himself had not ask'd the favour of selling his command, for the good of his Heir. What passed between the Duke and RUSSEL, is not hard to guess ; for the latter kept his command, by pretending to the King, that when it came to the point, he could not find in his heart to quit his service, and desired to die in it : But upon all this matter followed such an animosity between these two Princes, as will serve to fill our Annals with the fatal effects of it, while yet this first occasion of their breach is not like to be so much as mentioned.

THE Turns of Court are such, that after all this bustle and composition between us about this regiment of guards, a third person not then thought of for such a command, nor so much as in the army, luckily got it from us both by the Duke of YORK's being absent in *Scotland*, and RUSSEL's quitting his interest, on account of the Popish Plot ; and so renewing his desire to sell. The Duke of MONMOUTH at that time was in such
disfavour,

disfavour, as to have his Government of *Hull*, and Lord-Lieutenancy of *Yorkshire*, given to me; which, with the old *Holland* regiment I had before, was already more than, being so young, I could reasonably pretend to. The King therefore, at last, bought that command of Colonel RUSSEL for his other Son the Duke of GRAFTON. What appears in this story most remarkable, is the probability that in those early days the Duke of MONMOUTH had some thoughts of what he attempted afterward; and the suspicion of him thus accidentally infused into the Duke of YORK, was not without some ground; since that regiment consisted of two thousand four hundred men, a great part of our little army always kept together, and quartered in *London*, when the other few regiments were separated into all the garisons of *England*.

THIS appeared sufficiently at King CHARLES's death, when it had not been impossible for the Duke of MONMOUTH to succeed him, if he had then flourished in Court at the head of so considerable a regiment.

TRIMMER

How much the King Charles's Hope

T H E

THE
CHARACTER
PREFACE
OF A

T O R Y,

In ANSWER to that of a

TRIMMER:

Both written in King CHARLES's Reign.

THE
CHARTER
OF A
TORY

In Answer to that of a

TRIMMER:

Both written in King Charles's Reign.

T H E
P R E F A C E.

I SHALL begin my PREFACE with a Paradox, and assure the Reader most solemnly, that neither favour nor faction, interest nor vanity, neither the design of helping my friends, or of hurting my enemies, have had the least share in this small undertaking, and (which, I confess, is scarce credible in so corrupt an age) that nothing under heaven but the publick good had been able to have tempted me to expose my quiet, and perhaps my reputation, among

a

32 The P R E F A C E.

*a croud of such impertinent scriblers as at this time swarm among us. But it being a little unreasonable for me to expect your belief of so unusual a sincerety, only on the bare word of a stranger ; it is necessary by that which follows, to convince my impartial reader, that I was really moved by this honest design, because there could be indeed no other temptation to undertake it. For I am extreamly sensible, that the book I am about to answer, is written not only on a very plausible subject, but with all manner of advantage and eloquence ; and not an eloquence only full of fallacious colours, that fall off as soon as brought to the light of a strict examination, but of as good and solid reasons as that cause will bear ; a cause too that must be acknowledged not unworthy of so able an advocate : For what is more self-denying and meritorious, than to disoblige both parties of WHIG and TORY, in order only to maintain the disinterested name of TRIMMER ? What is more prudent than to avoid those
enticing*

THE PREFACE. 33

enticing partialities on either hand, by steering so right in the middle, unprevailed on by the strongest temptations? What is more vertuous and noble, than to keep out of all extreams, and to remain in that golden mean, where alone they say virtue is always to be found? I should still go on in our TRIMMER's praise, if I were not afraid of being thought a flatterer; and that perhaps the reader might compare us to our late noble duellists, who instead of engaging heartily, agreed to set up for heroes, by giving each other a few slight hurts, and a world of commendations. Besides this, I am but too sensible of a greater disadvantage, which lies in the mighty difference there is between writing first on any subject, and answering what is already written; the thought of invention in the writer, and the novelty of it to the reader, are such great advantages on one side, that more than ordinary skill is necessary on the other, to keep up the combat with any tolerable reputation. But I

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am comforted and armed against all these discouragements, by the great value I have for my adversary, by whom it were no shame to be worsted, and by my cause, for which I should think it some glory to suffer, out of my too much zeal to maintain it : And tho' I call him my adversary, it is by custom, and for distinction sake, since I doubt not but we both contend alike for truth, and for the benefit of our dearest country ; and therefore, surely, have no more reason to be angry with one another, than any two adventurers who search for the same treasure, tho' in different mines, and by different methods.

T H E

T H E
C H A R A C T E R
O F A
T O R Y, &c. in 1679.

In ANSWER to that of a

T R I M M E R,

And written at the same Time, but never
printed.

IN the first place I must lay down one necessary observation to be remembred throughout this whole discourse, that a multitude of wise and vertuous sayings are so intermixed with our TRIMMER's particular opinions, that it is indeed the principal part of my work only to distinguish those uncontroverted points from the rest. And I cannot imagine, why such plain undeniable truths are asserted with so much eloquence, unless in them to wrap up the more dangerous opinions, which otherwise could hardly be swallowed by any unprejudiced reader. I confess, I so much reverence his good reasoning sometimes, that I cannot but grieve at his bad ; and am astonished to find

the same man capable of so unequal a mixture : Yet after all, such is human nature at the best, and who, alas ! can help it ? We were not men, but angels, if we always thought as wisely as this TRIMMER does sometimes ; but I must have leave also to say, we should be scarcely reasonable creatures, if such gross errors as his are, could be capable of deceiving us : However, the very good reflections that he makes sometimes, deserve excuse for his bad ones ; which also at the same time they are condemned, yet claim, methinks, a kind of respect due to such illustrious criminals.

To begin the trial, I join issue with him in believing it a fault of government, when they at the bar seem to dictate laws, that is, domineer over those on the bench ; but sure it is not so great a proof of learning in the lawyer, and of ignorance in the judge, as of arrogance in the one and remissness in the other. Nor can I see why a criminal's own protestation of his innocence, may not be as good an argument at any time to prove it, and persuade the people to believe it, as the reputation of his advocate, tho' never so learned, who is bound to plead for him or any body else that gives him a fee. Sure, neither the person accused, nor he that pleads for him, can in reason be so credible in their own case, as the Twelve Judges, whom the wise always submit to, if they are able ones, in reason ; and if they are ignorant, in prudence ; because in all matters whatsoever, there must be some persons referr'd to on both sides, without appeal to the people ; who, tho' perhaps in other matters, as trade, &c. they seldom mistake their interest, yet can never be supposed impartial and judicious in cases of this kind : Therefore my Lord BACON observes well, that in a Judge, popularity is a greater fault than bribery ;

bribery ; because every body is capable of flattery, but few of making presents. So that all which the TRIMMER so enlarges on, amounts to no more than this, that it is better for a nation to have honest and learned judges, than ignorant and corrupt ones ; and what TORY denies it ? Only in this the TORY is sure the more reasonable, that tho' he would never advise his Prince to choose ill men for judges, he would as little put the people on disliking them when once chosen, and would attribute such a miscarriage, or rather misfortune, only to his Prince's not being omniscient, and consequently capable of being misinformed or imposed on. Now, methinks, this is more consistent with what our TRIMMER says afterwards, than he is with himself ; for certainly the way to such a happy settlement between King and People, as that one of them should be almost ready to adore the other, is not to quarrel with his proceedings, but rather to excuse them, tho' never so faulty ; for tho' our TRIMMER is so zealous a Courtier, as he would have his King admired like a God, I suppose he does not expect he should really be one, that is, free from all manner of frailties.

WHAT our TRIMMER says about armies is unanswerable, when they are employed not for defence of the Government, but either to set up a false title, or oppress the subjects under a good one. But there is a meaning in this case, and for all the TRIMMER's pretence to moderation, the understanding TORY only shews it, who would have soldiers enough to protect the Government, but not to invade it ; and therefore our army in *England* (tho' perhaps our great officers may not approve it, and it is no matter, since their advice in state matters is not like to be asked) augmented

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as it is, and well disciplined as it ought to be, is but an assistance to the *Posse-Comitatus*, and a General, in effect, does but obey a Constable. Upon this ground I dare conclude, that a competent force in defence of the King's person and prerogative, is as necessary a support to the Government, as the Law-courts are in *Westminster-hall*: But who can help it, if the TRIMMER's eyes are so dazzled with the glittering of a little army on *Putney-heath*, and his ears so stunn'd with trumpets and kettle-drums, that he has quite forgotten the opposition that has been made these last fifty years, to the undoubted right of the Crown, and consequently to the peace of the Nation? Let him but think well of the factious and republican principles among us, and of the unparalleled boldness our nation always shews in the worst designs as well as the best; and my good opinion of our TRIMMER gives me almost an assurance, that he will conclude ten thousand soldiers are now as necessary to the King's safety, and the people's quiet, as ever the band of pensioners and yeomen of the guard were heretofore. And I am confident he will believe that, as in times of great oppression and injustice, it would not be indecent for the *House of Commons* to desire moderate laws for their future preservation against it, and that they ought not for that to be suspected of rebellion; so when the balance is too much on the other side, and Kings only are in the danger, it is sure at least as fitting and as reasonable for them to increase their guards and strength, which ought not to breed the least suspicion in their subjects. So that it is not the use, but ill use of Armies, that can be reasonably complained of; and the TRIMMER is forced to confess, the best things are subject to that sometimes; since

he cannot deny that misfortune to have happened even in Parliaments themselves.

I AM intirely of the TRIMMER's opinion as to printing of Books only on one side, and think it a very nauseous partiality ; and for that very reason I approve of the publishing those on the Crown's part at present, to counterpoise the much greater number written of late on the people's, till at last such a happy settlement may follow, that it will be, I hope, as preposterous to write a book in defence of loyalty, as of rebellion ; no man in the world doubting the one, or endeavouring the other. It is true, indeed, that perpetually cramming down people's throats even the best diet, is enough to make their stomachs rise against it ; but I hope the TRIMMER will not propose a thing so partial, as to let all the libels remain unanswered, tho', I confess, most of them deserve to be so.

I AM also as much as the TRIMMER against dividing the Sovereignty with any the nearest Kindred, much less with Assemblies ; but think neither *England* nor *Muscovy* good instances of its inconvenience, which yet must be attributed only to our good fortune ; and that being nothing but some less observed cause, I will endeavour to inform the reader as to *England*, and leave the famous pen of Sir PETER WYCHE to do as much for *Muscovy*.

IT has so happened here, that the only Brother and Heir of the Crown is a Prince indefatigable both in peace and war, and a zealous industrious Minister of State. This draws, as one may well imagine, a multitude of dependers after him, and in another Subject would have been counted a meritorious service to his King and Country ; but in one so nearly related to the Crown, is suspected

of ambition and design, by some of those who judge at a distance. But I refer the TRIMMER and myself to all those who approach him nearer, if ever there was a conduct more disinterested, more humble, or more submissively obedient; which, I confess, is so extraordinary a thing, that I cannot blame the TRIMMER for so prudent a caution, it not being a Politician's business to depend on Miracles.

I CONCUR intirely in believing it hardly possible that any foreign dangers should be too sudden for a Parliament's assembling; but sure, it is not impossible for assemblies to be factious and dilatory, even bribed to be so, by that very power which produces the danger? What if this should happen? Why, the TRIMMER himself cannot but admit of the remedy; (and to shew my compliance in requital of his) he cannot more approve the thing, than I do his silence concerning it. For it is a *Sanctum Sanctorum* to be approach'd but seldom even by Princes, and then too with fear and reverence. I agree also with the TRIMMER as to Parliaments in general, and think no King of *England*, without their concurrence, can be either great abroad, or absolute at home; and so I have done with his opinions about Laws and Government. My next work is to consider what he says of Religion.

AND here I must give that due applause which our TRIMMER deserves, since nothing can be more reasonable, more good-natured and moral, than all his reflections on the *Roman Catholicks*, and the late pretended Plot, which he says ought no more to involve the whole party, tho' it were real, than the Gunpowder-treason did before; because if the crimes of particular men were chargeable on all those who profess the same principles,
what

what might not *Atheists* and *Infidels* object against Christianity itself, there being no sect in it free in all its members from most horrid impieties. I doubt not but our TRIMMER's so laudable moderation in this particular, has already found its reward in that great satisfaction, which being in the right most commonly brings along with it ; for, before this time, he cannot but with all the world be convinced of the innocence even of the most suspected *Catholicks* : How necessary then was his caution, not to prosecute all the rest for their sakes ! But as he goes on in deploring the hard condition of them, and other dissenters, as if there was no remedy but patience for the unreasonable severity of laws, till a Parliament thought fit to repeal them, tho' every man alive should groan under the oppression ; sure the TORY in this appears the more prudent, who can find a happy expedient in that essential necessary power belonging to all sorts of Government, for granting any temporary dispensation from penalties too hard to be inflicted, and too heavy to be endured.

AND when we consider how the very law of nature allows, nay, obliges us in some extraordinary exigents, to kill another, rather than suffer some part of oppression and violence ; and that consequently every man in such cases hath a dispensing power within himself to break the law, deserving rather reward than punishment for so doing : Who then can doubt that Government should be so deficient, as to want a power of preserving itself, which it is against nature for any private man to be without ? And if this is requisite in some cases, who is so fit to judge of those as the supreme Magistrate, entrusted with the whole executive power of a nation ? For, to join assemblies with him in this, tho' I approve it in his legislative

legislative capacity, is the same as to exclude all power of dispensing in any case whatsoever ; since it supposes only such as cannot admit of due time for the slow deliberation of assemblies ; or when those assemblies are too much possess'd with passion or prejudice.

I AGREE, and am glad whenever I can do so, with his despising the assistance of a drunken club, tho' made so by no other health than the King's, and I think such a mixture of affectation and disorder deserves rather a constable's staff, for its dispersing and punishment, than a blue ribband or a great title for its countenance. But I cannot think a Pulpit as insignificant as a Tavern, unless I saw one of such a club get into it ; because I know no reason so good for the appointing preachers once a week to entertain the people, as the teaching them morality, a principal part of which is obedience to magistrates.

AFTER this, our TRIMMER observes that it is a little partial to consider *Catholicks* always as good subjects, and other dissenters as bad ones ; when we may remember each of them has had their turn of being sometimes loyal, and sometimes rebellious. Now I am afraid, our very TRIMMER himself is something partial ; for tho' I am far from believing *Papists*, or any sort of people whatsoever, so perfect as to be incapable of ill designs ; yet I must needs observe with all the world, that of late years and within this nation (which sure are the most considerable precedents to us) *Roman Catholicks* have been all most remarkably loyal ; and I wish I could say as much for all other dissenters. But there is little need of defending the *Catholicks* any longer against our TRIMMER, who has said more for them, than ever they did for themselves ; in shewing us how
plainly

plainly it is their interest, as much as any other mens whatsoever, to support this Government and defend it from all usurpations even of *Rome* itself, if ever it should attempt any ; and I think when interest ties men to obedience, it is a very unreasonable jealousy to suspect them. But I will now pass with the TRIMMER to things abroad, and agree with him in thinking it a very melancholy prospect.

I AM sensible, even to an anxiety of mind, of our giving all the advantage imaginable to the enemies of the *English* nation abroad, by our perpetual disagreement at home : and (according to the *Scotch* manner of proceeding against criminals) I conclude with him first as to the crime, which I think horrid beyond a name, and then afterwards examine calmly who is the unexcusable criminal : In order to which inquisition, I must truly and impartially state the case. A King and Parliament are disagreeing upon mutual jealousies ; the King apprehends any opposition to *France*, for fear the Parliament should either not supply him sufficiently to maintain it, or else take that advantage of exacting too much from the Crown. On the other side, the Parliaments are hearty towards such an opposition, because it is the nation's interest, and are sufficiently resolved to maintain it ; but at the same time are afraid of the King's employing their supplies another way. Now as I cannot deny but it is the *French* King's interest to tempt Him any way, if it were possible, and to increase his suspicion of Parliaments ; so the TRIMMER also must needs own, that the same foreign Power is as busy in the House of Commons, to widen the breach on that side too : and thus is a mighty Monarch with both hands tearing us silently in pieces,

pieces, and widening those very wounds, which we have first given our selves. But is it fair? is it just? is it impartial (as a TRIMMER pretends to be) to impute all these inconveniencies to the Court alone, who are not more capable of helping it, without a Parliament's compliance, than the Parliament is without the King's condescension in maintaining the *English* interest against the *French*, at their so earnest desires? But since things must needs continue thus, till one side a little submits, is it hard to determine which should first yield; the Children, or the Father? the Subjects, or the Sovereign? the Parliament, or the King?

I HOPE our TRIMMER's veneration for his country is no idolatry, for I cannot hold from kneeling down by him, and kissing our mother Earth with all the tenderness imaginable, for which I have a good substantial reason, as plain as the Clown who taught it me; and that is, because I have my livelihood here, and these foreign trespassers would be apt to take it from me; so that I too, without pretending to be a Hero, would rather die generously in defence of my Country, than starve infamously after the loss of it. Therefore, whenever the TRIMMER can persuade the Parliament to give money enough for a Fleet against *France*, the TORY will engage to go a voluntier in it, rather than command the *Kitchen Yatcht* to any grand LOUIS of them all: so I hope we are agreed as to that point. But whereas our TRIMMER insinuates a little artificially, that our settlement at home is slighted only in order to assist the *French* designs abroad; I must confess that our divisions on this side of the sea, contribute sufficiently to those on the other;

other ; but who can help it ? 'Tis certain, these two misfortunes go together ; and *England* cannot be embroil'd, without *Flanders* being almost conquered ; but is this division here the effect, or rather the cause of that Monarch's ambition ? To say it is the effect, is so sharp a censure on our nation, that I dare not be so bold as our TRIMMER is, only to hint at it ; and my blood rises at the very thought : But this I dare say, because it is manifest, that if the ambition of *France* has caused our disorders ; a Kingdom cannot be so betrayed, unless its King be so too. Which of his subjects ought most to be suspected in such a case, I will not determine ; but whoever they are, may they be thrown out like JONAS, to allay the storm, and be forced to seek a shelter with that great Leviathan. The TORY is content, nay desirous to search every corner, even of the court itself, where sure he cannot long be hid, because the Prince is a thousand times more concerned to find him out, than any of his most suspicious subjects can be : But pray let us have fair play to search other places too, and not believe this *French* Monarch so extravagantly aspiring, as to scorn the bribing any body below a Minister of State ; he is very well bred ; and we know his condescension such, that the meanest member of the *House of Commons* need not despair of being acceptable in his sight.

THE conclusion of our TRIMMER's discourse is very properly called so, because it seems impossible to carry a fallacy further, or disguise it better ; and therefore I hope it will not put him out of his so much boasted moderation, if I strip it of all those artificial colours, and expose it to the world in its mishapen nakedness : Then we shall
quickly

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quickly see the difference between the homeliness of Error, and that amiable Truth so much celebrated by our TRIMMER, who, alas ! mistakes deformity for her, and seems in his rapture as extravagantly doting as the humourous Lieutenant, when he took his old King for a plump girl of fifteen.

WHAT do men ail, cries our TRIMMER, thus to rail at moderation, and to say, TRIMMERS are even worse than rebels ? It looks, says he, as if they were aiming at some violent extreme, incompatible with all discretion and moderation. This now has an appearance of reason, and seems fair at a distance ; but, well considered, is but a cloud of fallacy, without any substantial force of argument. Suppose a father or master finds himself oppress'd by any sort of ill usage, and accordingly implores the help of his children or servants, who yet all the while stand careless by with a most provoking indifference, rather seeming to insult over his need of their assistance, than eager to relieve him by it : They, still unconcerned, behold their parent or master struggling with his adversaries, and extremely suffering either by suits of Law, or personal Violence, or by any other way you can suppose a man abused : The good man himself, nay, all the world, accuses these luke-warm friends, those infamous servants, these unnatural children, of being so shamefully unconcerned in all these quarrels. May not they as well answer for themselves, what does this man ail ? What does the world mean to find fault with our moderation, is it not a vertue ? is it not a sign of sense as well as justice to be ever impartial ? Let us leave this parent, this master to his own strength, and let that help him out of all his troubles : why should we

we

we take part on either side ? O but then the good man is enraged more against them than all his enemies. And can we blame him ? What can they say for themselves ? Why only this : Is he driving, say they, at any strange extream ? Does he design to beggar all his neighbours, to assault his acquaintance, to abuse all the world, that he expects we should assist him on all occasions ?

Now let any man judge if this be a laudable moderation in these cold friends ? A blessed serene temper above the clouds of passion and partiality ? Or rather, an unworthy and unnatural coldness, for those whom they ought to be inclined to believe in the right, and to protect, tho' never so much in the wrong ? Suppose the quarrel began on our parent's side ; suppose he was contentious ; (which is laying the objection as hard as can be) yet are we at liberty either to help or hurt him, as our fancy leads us ? Are we not tied to his assistance more firmly than soldiers are to their General by a little pay ; and not to examine the cause so much as the kindred ; since our reason and our reverence ought to conclude the best of such things which we cannot be able to judge of, so well, as he whom God and Nature have set over us ?

ANOTHER Fallacy is endeavoured to be put on us, by shewing the great limitation a King lies under, and the extraordinary lessening of his authority, when once it engages for one party of his people, towards the destruction of another ; which our TRIMMER calls, shrinking from a great Monarch into the Head of a Faction ; and therefore he is extremely troubled for such a diminution of his Prince's power. Now I confess, this appears to me just as if a highway-man, overtaken by a hue and cry, should stand at bay,
and

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and thus pretend to wheedle the pursuing constable. What! will you, reverend Magistrates! (for 'tis time to give good words) who are entrusted by the nation with the publick peace and tranquillity, and therefore not only strengthened with ample power, but adorned with awful staffs of authority: What! will you be thus partial to these witnesses, to these shabby fellows who pretend to be robbed, as to fall on us who never saw your faces before? This is making your selves the Heads of a pursuing rabble, who one day perhaps may be indited of a riot for so abusing us———I need not apply the comparison, because the thing speaks itself. And whereas our TRIMMER blames people for so monopolizing a Prince's favour, that a poor TRIMMER can get none of it; I confess 'tis true, but methinks not very strange. I allow his Simile to hold good, that not only these Statesmen, but any other men in the world, even TRIMMERS themselves, would engross the very sunshine, with the hazard of being burnt, in case there were not enough of it for every body? And, for my part, tho' it is a great fault in mankind, I cannot but charitably forgive it; because I am one of that race myself; and bad is the best of us all, WHIG, TORY, and TRIMMER.

BUT here he advises us extreamly well, not to oppress the people, which, tho' a dull heavy beast, may yet at last be enraged with such burning cupping-glasses. In return to his kindness, I will put him also in mind, that it is every whit as dangerous to wake a sleeping Lion; it being a great deal better to feed quietly by him than insolently tread on him, or so much as seem to slight him: For, tho' it is easier for himself as well as others to lock up his claws,
and

and lie in quiet ; yet if too much disturbed, perhaps he may grow peevish, and think it better once for all to rouse up his anger to purpose, than to be fretted and provoked perpetually.

AND now, because the very name of a T O R Y has been given to intimate a mixture of ignorance and barbarity ; it will not be unnecessary to give a short account of his opinions, that are supposed to be such terrible bugbears ; though indeed they can frighten none but very children in politicks. First, As to Religion, he does not believe it a meer engine of Government, invented only by the fear of fools, and improved since by the wisdom of Magistrates ; but yet he thinks is not below the divinest laws, to second or rather sanctify those made by our superiors ; and he can never imagine any Religion likely to bring us to heaven, which hinders us from living peaceably and contentedly on earth. So that if principles of obedience to government be not the sure mark of a good religion (because then MAHOMET's might pass as well as another) yet any that makes a disturbance is to be counted a bad one, and not fit to be suffered in a community of reasonable creatures.

AND tho' he is thought such a Bigot of Monarchy, it is only where its long settlement among us gives it a just title to our defence and veneration : But all this while he thinks a subject of *Venice* would be as guilty in shaking that august fabrick of Aristocracy, as any of our Innovators can be here ; because the reason is the same, and the general quiet as much disturbed. He thinks obedience to Kings, as to Parents, a moral, nay, a divine law ; and that we are tied to observe it as much by our interest, as our duty ; and that in this, as in all other actions of morality, the pub-

lick convenience, in which our own is comprehended, ought to be thought the basis of the strictest obligation. Let not therefore any body imagine the *TORY* so partial or so blind, as not to see faults in his superiors, because he only sighs in silence, and is rather ashamed than angry at it. For he thinks that taking publick notice of it is as ill-bred and unwise, as a man's telling his own wife of her being painted in the Drawing-room ; which is not so likely to persuade her out of that fault, as to provoke her into another of a more dangerous nature. Nay, the *TORY* thinks sometimes the Prerogative itself too much exalted, and is afraid of its breaking with being stretch'd too high, as instruments are in danger under unskilful hands. But even in such a case, when Liberty is like the keeper's daughter at the *Tower*, fallen under the Lion's paw ; it is prudence to have patience, and nothing can so endanger her, as to attempt her rescue. No doubt but there are evils in all governments ; but the lesser ones of being unwisely governed, are a thousand times to be preferred to those of Anarchy and a Civil War. Then as to foreign affairs, the *TORY* is as zealous as any body for the honour of his nation ; and thinks the quiet of it, especially for the future, depends on our maintaining that honour generously, tho' with a little seeming inconvenience. But as the *TORY* would be loth to see his Prince engaged in amity with any enemies to his country, since then they must be his too, whatever they may pretend to the contrary ; so he would not have a Parliament so positive, though never so much in the right, as to grow imposers instead of counsellors. A King ought to be persuaded sometimes, but never violently press'd to any thing ;
for,

for, besides that it is the way to give a disgust to the best diet, if it be cramm'd down with violence ; by such an importunity, the grace of willingness is lost, which is the very life and soul of all compliances : and the Nation will rather despise, than applaud a Prince, who only yields to their desires out of too much easiness of nature. Yet after all, perhaps the honest T O R Y is more concern'd than any, to have his Prince always understand his interest aright ; when others are glad (it may be) of his mistakes, that turn so much to his disadvantage.

AND now to shake hands and be friends, after all our disputes ; I join heartily with our T R I M - M E R in adoring Truth, wherever I find her ; who, I am confident, has been our common mistress all this while, and may her favour only decide the quarrel : If she were to be flattered into kindness, I must certainly submit to my rival, who says the finest things of her in the world ; but she is too plain her self, to be delighted with compliments ; and one fair argument will gain her better than a thousand flourishes. Therefore tho' I might entertain myself with as many reflections as he does ; that our Climate is a T R I M M E R as to its air, perpetually cloudy, low'ring, and uncertain ; that our Church too, with reverence be it spoken, is in this a T R I M - M E R, wanting enthusiasm on one hand, which is the only pretence for separation, and yet without any such authority on the other, whereby to blind men to obey her ; that our Laws also are errant T R I M M E R S, sparing nobody that stands in their way, let them be of what principle they please : But here I am quite out of breath, and can go no further with our T R I M - M E R, since nothing less than Vertue and the

Divinity itself will serve him to be made TRIMMERS; and that provokes me almost to make them TORIES, to be revenged on him: But I adore them too much for such a profanation, and am too much scandalized with the freedom he has already taken, to follow so unjustifiable an example.

I shall conclude with this, That what the TRIMMER only in words pretends to do, and fails of in effect, the TORY uses the right means for, and so accomplishes. For first, the TRIMMER complains of WHIGS weighing down the boat on one side, while he is wishing it should go more steddily; but yet without using the least means towards it, he sits still at the bottom of the vessel, and only quarrels with every body in it. Now what possible way is there in nature to set all right again, but by counterpoising that weight of WHIGS with as great an one of TORIES on the other side? This is all we aim at; that the Government at last may be well established, and every thing go so even, that nothing hereafter may endanger it.

WHEN TRIMMERS shall once see us in that condition, I am apt to think them so wise as to grow TORIES immediately; not doubting but they will join then, as heartily as any of us all, in the preservation of that happy settlement; towards which I hope we are drawing nearer every day, and in which I pray we may rest for ever.

A
C H A R A C T E R
O F
C H A R L E S II.

King of *ENGLAND*.

E 3

CHARLES II.

A

CHARACTER

O F

CHARLES II.

I HAVE pitch'd on this Character of CHARLES II, not for his being a King, or my having had the honour to serve him : The first of these would be too vulgar a consideration, and the other too particular. But I think it a Theme of great variety, and whatever is wanting in the writer, may, I hope, be recompensed in the agreeableness of the subject ; which is sometimes enough to recommend a picture though ill-drawn, and to make a face one likes, oftner look'd on, than the best piece of RAPHAEL.

To begin then according to custom with his *Religion*, which since his death hath made so much noise in the world ; I yet dare confidently affirm it to be only that which is vulgarly (tho' unjustly) counted none at all, I mean *Deism*. And this uncommon opinion he owed more to the liveliness of his parts, and carelessness of his temper, than either to reading or much confide-

ration ; for his quickness of apprehension at first view could discern thro' the several cheats of pious pretences ; and his natural laziness confirm'd him in an equal mistrust of them all, for fear he should be troubled with examining which Religion was best.

IF in his early travels, and late administration, he seem'd a little bias'd to one sort of Religion ; the first is only to be imputed to a certain easiness of temper, and a complaisance for that company he was then forced to keep : and the last was no more than his being tired (which he soon was in any difficulty) with those bold oppositions in Parliament ; which made him almost throw himself into the arms of a *Roman Catholick* party, so remarkable in *England* for their loyalty, who embraced him gladly, and lull'd him asleep with those enchanting songs of absolute sovereignty, which the best and wisest of Princes are often unable to resist.

AND tho' he engaged himself on that side more fully at a time, when it is in vain, and too late to dissemble ; we ought less to wonder at it, than to consider that our very judgments are apt to grow in time as partial as our affections : And thus by accident only, he became of their opinion in his weakness, who had so much endeavoured always to contribute to his power.

HE loved ease and quiet, to which his unnecessary wars are so far from being a contradiction, that they are rather a proof of it ; since they were made chiefly to comply with those persons, whose dissatisfaction would have proved more uneasy to one of his humour, than all that distant noise of cannon, which he would often listen to with a great deal of tranquillity. Besides the great and almost only pleasure of mind he appeared

peared addicted to, was shipping and sea affairs; which seemed to be so much his talent both for knowledge, as well as inclination, that a war of that kind was rather an entertainment, than any disturbance to his thoughts.

I F he did not go himself at the head of so magnificent a fleet, it is only to be imputed to that eagerness of military glory in his Brother; who, under the shew of a decent care for preserving the Royal Person from danger, ingross'd all that sort of honour to himself; with as much jealousy of any other's interposing in it, as a King of another temper would have had of his, tho' without reason; for, never Heir behaved himself more submissively than the Duke of YORK, to the last minute of his life. 'Tis certain, no Prince was ever more fitted by nature for his country's interest than he was, in all his maritime inclinations; which might have proved of sufficient advantage to this nation, if he had been as careful in depressing all such improvements in *France*, as of advancing and encouraging our own. But it seems he wanted jealousy in all his inclinations, which leads us to consider him in his pleasures.

W H E R E he was rather abandoned than luxurious, and like our female Libertines, apter to be debauch'd for the satisfaction of others, than to seek with choice where most to please himself. I am of opinion also, that in his latter times there was as much of laziness as of love, in all those hours he passed among his mistresses; who, after all, serv'd only to fill up his *Seraglio*; while a bewitching kind of pleasure called Sauntring, and talking without any constraint, was the true *Sultana Queen* he delighted in.

HE

HE was surely inclined to justice, for nothing else would have retained him so fast to the succession of a Brother, against a Son he was so fond of, and the humour of a party he so much fear'd. I am willing also to impute to his justice, whatever seems in some measure to contradict the general opinion of his clemency ; as his suffering always the rigour of the Law to proceed not only against all highway-men, but also several others ; in whose cases the Lawyers (according to their wonted custom) had used sometimes a great deal of hardship and severity.

HIS Understanding was quick and lively in little things, and sometimes would soar high enough in great ones ; but unable to keep it up, with any long attention or application. Witty in all sorts of conversation, and telling a story so well, that not out of flattery, but for the pleasure of hearing it, we used to seem ignorant of what he had repeated to us ten times before, as a good comedy will bear the being seen often.

OF a wonderful mixture ; losing all his time, and till of late, setting his whole heart on the Fair Sex ; yet neither angry with rivals, nor in the least nice as to the being beloved : And while he sacrificed all things to his mistresses, he would use to grudge, and be uneasy at their losing a little of it again at play, tho' never so necessary for their diversion : Nor would he venture five pounds at Tennis to those servants, who might obtain as many thousands, either before he came thither, or as soon as he left off.

NOT false to his word, but full of dissimulation, and very *adorit* at it ; yet no man easier to be imposed on : For his great dexterity was in cozening himself, by gaining a little one way, while it cost him ten times as much another ; and
by

by careſſing thoſe perſons moſt, who had deluded him the oft'neſt ; and yet the quickeſt in the world at ſpying ſuch a ridicule in another.

FAMILIAR, eaſy, and good-natur'd ; but for great offences ſevere and inflexible ; alſo in one week's abſence, quite forgetting thoſe ſervants, to whoſe faces he could hardly deny any thing.

IN the miſt of all his remiſſneſs, ſo induſtrious and indefatigable on ſome particular occaſions, that no man would either toil longer, or be able to manage it better.

HE was ſo liberal, as to ruin his affairs by it ; for Want in a King of *England*, turns things juſt upſide down, and expoſes a Prince to his people's mercy. It did yet worſe in him, for it forc'd him alſo to depend on his great neighbour of *France*, who play'd the Brother with him ſufficiently, in all thoſe times of extremity ; yet this profuſeneſs of his did not ſo much proceed from his over-valuing thoſe he favoured, as from his under-valuing any ſums of money which he did not ſee ; tho' he found his error in this, but I confeſs a little of the lateſt.

HE had ſo natural an averſion to all formality, that with as much wit as moſt Kings ever had, and with as majeſtick a mien, yet he could not on premeditation act the part of a King for a moment, either at Parliament or Council, either in words or geſture ; which carried him into the other extreme, more inconvenient of the two, of letting all diſtinction and ceremony fall to the ground as uſeleſs and ſoppish.

HIS temper both of Body and Mind was admirable ; which made him an eaſy generous Lover, a civil obliging Huſband, a friendly Brother, an indulgent Father, and a good-natur'd Maſter. If he had been as ſollicitous about improving

proving the faculties of his mind, as he was in the management of his bodily health, tho' alas! the one prov'd unable to make his life long, the other had not failed to have made it famous.

HE was an illustrious exception to all the common rules of Physiognomy; for, with a most saturnine harsh sort of countenance, he was both of a merry and merciful disposition; and in the last thirty years of his life, as fortunate, as those of his father had been dismal and tumultuous. If his death has been by some suspected of being untimely, it may be imputed to his extreme healthy constitution; which made the world as much surpriz'd at his dying before threescore, as if nothing but an ill accident could have killed him.

I WOULD not say any thing on so sad a subject, if I did not think silence itself would in such a case signify too much; and therefore, as an impartial writer, I am oblig'd to observe, that the most knowing and most deserving of all his physicians did not only believe him poisoned, but thought himself so too not long after, for having declared his opinion a little too boldly.

BUT here I must needs take notice of an unusual piece of Justice, which yet all the world has most unanimously agreed in; I mean, in not suspecting his Successor of the least connivance in so horrid a Villany; and perhaps there was never a more remarkable instance of the wonderful power of Truth and Innocence. For it is next to a miracle, that so unfortunate a Prince, in the midst of all those disadvantages he lies under, should be yet clear'd of this even by his greatest enemies; notwithstanding all those circumstances that use to give a suspicion, and that extreme malice which has of late attended him in all his other actions.

A

C H A R A C T E R

O F T H E

Earl of ARLINGTON.

HENRY BENNET, a younger son of a private gentleman, had followed the Royal Family into exile ; at whose restoration he was made first Privy-Purse, then Secretary of State, Earl of ARLINGTON, Knight of the Garter, and at last Lord Chamberlain to King CHARLES the Second, and to his Brother King JAMES the Second afterwards. He was for some years a kind of fav'rite Minister, I mean conversant in his Master's pleasures, as well as intrusted with his business ; notwithstanding the constant enmity both of the Duke of YORK, and Chancellor CLARENDON, whose superior Power, especially in state-affairs, yet was unable to shake King CHARLES's inclination to this gentleman ; who therefore, at the other's banishment, remained if not sole minister, at least the principal one for some time. He met with one thing very peculiar in his fortune, which I have scarce known

known happen to any man else : With all his advancement (which is wont to create malice, but seldom contempt) he was believed in *England* by most people, a man of much less abilities than he really had. For this unusual sort of mistake I can only imagine two causes : First, his over-cautious avoiding to speak in Parliament, as having been more conversant in affairs abroad ; tho' nobody performed it better when obliged to give account of some Treaties to the *House of Lords*, or to defend himself in the *House of Commons* ; by which last he once brought himself off with great dexterity. The other reason of it I fancy to have come from the Duke of BUCKINGHAM, who being his rival in Court after the fall of CLARENDON, and having an extraordinary talent of turning any thing into ridicule, exercised it sufficiently on this Lord, both with the King and every body else : which had its effect at last even to his being left out of his master's business, but not his favour ; which in some measure continued still, and long after this his supplanter was totally discarded.

HAVING been educated in order to be a Divine, he was a better scholar than commonly Courtiers are ; and so well versed in the *Classick Poets*, that I never knew any man apply them so properly on any subject whatsoever, and without any pedantic affectation. Yet he could never shake off a little air of formality, that an Embassy into *Spain* had infected him with ; but it only hung about his mien, without the least tincture of it either in his words or behaviour. He once had the honour to procure a *Triple League* of great advantage to the defence of *Europe* against *France* : But he being one of those who for several years afterwards assisted in carrying on a quite contrary interest,

terest, it too plainly shews that, tho' none in this whole Reign knew foreign affairs so well, yet after all he was rather a subtle Courtier, than an able Statesman ; too much regarding every inclination of his Master, and too little considering his true interest and that of the nation. To end handsomely with him, he was of a generous temper ; not only living splendidly, but obliging his friends willingly and warmly : On which occasion I remember that, visiting him one day, when newly a friend of his had turn'd ungratefully against him, he ask'd me what effect I thought it would have upon him ? I thinking he meant as to his fortune, was about to answer gravely ; when he smilingly protested it should neither cool him in his present friendships, nor hinder his assisting the next deserving person who came in his way ; because that was the greatest satisfaction of his life, and he would not part with it upon any discouragement whatsoever. The truth of this he told me I should always find, and indeed I did so to the very end of his life ; which therefore required this small piece of gratitude.

EARL OF ARLINGTON

SOME
ACCOUNT
OF THE
REVOLUTION.

VOL. II.

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SOME

ACCOUNT

OF THE

REVOLUTION

Vol. II

S O M E
A C C O U N T
O F T H E
R E V O L U T I O N .

IN the Year 1688, there was a wonderful Consternation among some people, and an eager Expectation in all, what would be the event of an Army's landing in *England*, under the command of a Prince so nearly related, and nearer ally'd to the King. The pretended cause of his coming was for redress of grievances ; the real one needs not be mentioned, and will be easily imagined.

THE Nation had been long uneasy, even in some former reigns, with fears of Popery and Arbitrary Power ; and of late many of the very Court and Council appear'd unsatisfied on that account. Some were vex'd also for two other reasons ; the great diminution of their salaries, by the ill-timed retrenchments of the treasury, and their finding all the power and favour engross'd by a few, and those also the foolishhest of the *Roman* Party.

THIS general dislike of the King's management, had, like an infection, reach'd some of his Ministers themselves, as, the Earls of MULGRAVE and MIDDLETON, never the least tainted with being either false or factious; yet the first of them, not only in execution of his office, assisted openly all the Protestant Clergy, but absented himself from all the Councils; and both of them, in their own justification, took all occasions of deriding the ill advices of the Papists.

BUT a more dangerous symptom of the future change, was a desertion among the officers of his Majesty's army, and, at last, of the Lord CHURCHILL himself, tho' a kind of favorite.

YET all this was nothing in comparison of the Princess's withdrawing her self from Court by night, without any servants, except the Lady CHURCHILL and Mrs. BERKELEY, conducted by the Bishop of *London*, whose late disgrace at Court had help'd him to a reverential sort of popularity, which he, of all the bishops, would least have found otherwise.

AND because this extraordinary desertion of one daughter, as well as the other's sitting on a father's throne afterwards, must needs seem wonderful in two such Princesses, both of strict devotion, and many great virtues, Posterity perhaps will be glad to have some farther account of such unprecedented proceedings in persons of so unblameable and illustrious a character.

IT is very remarkable, that this Prince was so thoroughly unfortunate, as to be undone by his own children, and the more, by their being bred up most carefully and religiously, and their being endowed with all virtuous inclinations. These being first deceiv'd, by the indefatigable industry of some people, drew in a great part of the nation

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tion to be deceived also by the goodness of their dispositions, and the nearness of their relation to the person accused. For who could suspect such daughters of wronging their father? It was infused into them severally, by the properest instruments that could be found, that their father was not only resolved to persecute the Protestant religion, but to stick at nothing in order to it; and therefore at once to prevent his eldest daughter's succeeding him, and to secure the throne after him to one of his own religion, he had contrived a supposititious son, who was to succeed and settle that which his supposed father might not live long enough to fix sufficiently. And, tho' the justice of his mind, and the tenderness of his nature, were enough to disperse all such apprehensions; yet the zeal of Popish religion was brought in to overbalance all other considerations. All this was joined with the Prince of ORANGE's conjugal impositions on the most complying wife in the world; who was at last drawn into the dismal necessity of giving up either her husband, or a father resolved and ready (as she thought) to disinherit her. So that two worthy religious Ladies, even because they were so, consented to dethrone a most indulgent father, and to succeed him boldly in their several turns, before an innocent brother then a child:

Tantum Religio, &c.

IT is no wonder after this, if the King began to mistrust every body; which made him on a sudden leave his army at *Salisbury*, in order to consider his condition more securely at *London*. And here I must observe his ill fortune, in depending on his army at first too much, and now at last too little: For it is very probable, that his

soldiers, if once blooded, would have gone on with him, and have beaten the Prince of ORANGE, just as they had done before the Duke of MONMOUTH; the nature of *Englishmen* being like that of our game-cocks, which an *Irish* footman once thought he might trust safely together, because they were match'd on one side; but quickly found them picking out one another's eyes. The truth is, our countrymen love no cause, nor man, so well as fighting, even sometimes without any cause at all.

IN quitting his army thus suddenly, the King was thought too suspicious and precipitate: But (as unlucky Betters will lose on both sides) he had just before err'd as much by his dilatoriness, as he did now by his haste; for when the Lord CHURCHILL deserted him at *Salisbury*, he sent orders immediately to seize all his papers at *Whitehall*, before he had secur'd either his Lady or the Princess; which was only frightening the one, and disobliging the other.

WHEN the King was return'd from *Salisbury*, his Council was reduced within a very narrow compass; and, since he ever before thought nobody entirely in his interest, except they were of his religion also; it is no wonder, if, at this suspicious time, he consulted with a few Papists only; who (being the very persons most obnoxious to a Parliament, whenever summon'd, and to the rabble, if things ran to confusion) unanimously advis'd him to fly; but more for their own sakes than his, because they might hope to have an interest with him, remaining in *France*, whither they were now forc'd to escape themselves. From hence alone came that fatal resolution of his retiring; which was, perhaps, the loss of his Crown,

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Crown, but certainly some diminution to his former Reputation.

THE King, however, resolv'd to try one remedy first, or at least, by that to disguise his intended flight the better ; and therefore summon'd all the Peers in town to a kind of General Council at *Whitehall* ; at which some of the Bishops, as well as Temporal Lords, open'd their grievances so boldly, that he condescended to send two of them (*viz.*) the Marquis of HALLIFAX, and the Earl of NOTTINGHAM) as his commissioners to the Prince of ORANGE ; joining the Lord GODOLPHIN with them, who was the only man that had the cunning, or else the good fortune, to be at once in some favour with both the King and the Prince of ORANGE.

IN the mean time he sent away the Queen in all haste and privacy under the conduct of Monsieur LAUZUN, an old disgrac'd favourite of the *French* King ; which indeed was enough to discover his own intention of going to *France* soon after. But it was thought worth incurring that suspicion, to secure the Prince of *Wales*, whom she carry'd along with her to *Calais*. After which the King, (who before judged himself under a necessity of leaving the kingdom) began now to grow under an impatience also ; and perhaps indulged his uneasy thoughts, with reflecting, that he now abandon'd three Kingdoms, not so much to save himself, as to follow a Wife and only Son.

JUST as he was stepping into bed, the night before his going away, the Earl of MULGRAVE happened to come into the bedchamber, which being at so late an hour, might possibly give the King some apprehension of that Lord's suspecting his design, with which he was resolved not to

trust him, nor any other Protestant whatsoever. He therefore stopp'd short, and turn'd about to whisper him in the ear, that his Commissioners had newly sent him a very hopeful account of some good accommodation with the Prince of ORANGE: To which that Lord only reply'd with a question, asking him, if the Prince's army halted, or approach'd nearer to *London*? The King own'd they still march'd on; at which the other shook his head, and said no more, only made him a low bow, with a dejected countenance, humbly to make him understand, that he gave no credit to what the King's hard circumstances at that time obliged him to dissemble.

THUS reserved was the King to every body about his withdrawing himself; as indeed men are generally most close in secrets against their own interest. The mysterious carriage of this absconding cost the Lord Chancellor JEFFERIES his life (a thing indeed of little value to any body besides himself) who died afterwards in prison for want of having the same warning given him to escape, which had been given to the Earl of MELFORD and Father PETERS. This proceeding of his was imputed to neither ill nature nor carelessness, two faults his Majesty was not guilty of; but rather to his generosity, which made him even compassionate his very enemies so much, as never to forgive that Lord's cruelty in executing such multitudes of them in the west, against his express orders.

THE Nuntio also escaped very narrowly; for after having stolen away to *Gravesend*, behind the coach of an Envoy of *Savoy*, he was there perceived by the Earl of WINCHELSEA, who, tho' Lord Lieutenant of the county, had been unable to preserve him from the rabble; and therefore
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sent immediate notice of it to the *Spanish* Ambassador; who as speedily caus'd the Prince of ORANGE to be waked at *Windsor*, and to sign a particular sort of passport for all the train of that *Savoy* Minister. By this they prevented an accident, that would have made an ill impression at this time upon all the Prince's confederates of the *Roman* Catholick religion.

BUT to return to the King. At three o'clock in the morning, he withdrew himself by a back way out of the bed-chamber; commanding the Duke of NORTHUMBERLAND (whom he left there on a pallet bed, according to the custom of his place of Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber in waiting) not to open the door, before his usual time of rising, at which time, several persons of quality, according to custom, in great numbers, being come to attend him at his levee, divulged the news immediately of his being gone away.

THE King intending to pass thro' *Kent* to the sea-side, took with him Sir EDWARD HALES, a gentleman of a great estate there, and a new convert, which had drawn on him the hatred of all that country, to so great a degree, as to make him a hindrance, instead of a help to their escape. This the King himself told us at his return from *Feverſham*, admiring at Sir EDWARD's having so little credit in his own country: Which was so right an image, in little, of his own unfortunate condition, that it had been enough to make him more cautious, if he could have perceived it sooner.

THE King's sudden absenting himself, as it was very extraordinary, so it produced as extraordinary effects every where.

IN the Prince of ORANGE's army, the nation was look'd on as their own; at least, all the
good

good employments in it. In *London*, all the Lords there, both Spiritual and Temporal, met the Mayor and Aldermen at *Guildhall*, who, with the rest of the citizens, were under such a consternation, that they all entirely submitted to the conduct of those few Peers, who were almost in as much apprehension themselves: For indeed, the rabble were the masters, if the beasts had known their own strength; at least, till the Prince's army arriv'd at *London*, which then took their turn in being so, tho' but one degree better. One of the Lords, in the name of all the rest, assured the City Magistrates of their affection and care for the publick safety; after which, they retired into a room appointed for them, and chusing Mr. GWIN and Mr. COOLING to act the part of Secretaries, who had been so before to the Earls of ROCHESTER and MULGRAVE, two Lords then present; they sent letters immediately to the fleet, the abandon'd army of King JAMES, and to all the considerable garrisons in *England*, which kept them all in order and subjection, not only to the present authority, but to that which should be settled afterwards.

THE citizens were extreamly apprehensive of the *Tower*, imagining all their houses would tumble down at the first gun that should be shot from thence; on which the Lords took occasion of the Lieutenant's absence, at such a time, to put that command into the hands of the Lord LUCAS, who had the good fortune to be quarter'd there with his company of foot. But the most important act of this assembly, was their sending one Peer of each rank with a letter to the Prince of ORANGE, subscribed by them all, in which they took notice of the King's absence, and the necessity of his making all expedition to *London*, in
order

order to the publick Quiet. This address was sign'd by the * Archbishop of *Canterbury* in the first place, whom I particularly mention, because, after this single act of compliance, he never would appear in publick affairs, or pay the least sort of Respect to the Prince of ORANGE, even after he was elected King of *England*; and yet, on the other side, had been as morose to King JAMES before, in never acknowledging his son, or shewing him the least civility.

WHILE the Lords thus acted in the City, they often sent for the Lord Mayor, who received all their Orders as submissively, as if they had been the most legal commands; and when this assembly arose, the people were so sensible of their dignity, or rather of their care to prevent all disorders, that several of them, even the two Lords beforemention'd, tho' Ministers of the unfortunate King, had their coaches attended with crouds and applauses as far as the City-gates. Which I purposely take notice of, because it is a most remarkable instance of the advantage and power which men of rank have above others, whenever they shew themselves industrious and zealous for the publick good.

FROM this time forwards, till the King's return out of *Kent*, these Lords met every day in the Council-chamber at *Whitehall*; and by that prevented the unruliness of the rabble, who, the first hour after the King's absconding, pull'd down the houses of the *Florentine* Envoy, and the *Spanish* Ambassador; the last of whom had full amends made him, notwithstanding so high an insolence: For the Earl of MULGRAVE (tho' his Master was gone, and his staff laid aside) yet thought

* *Sancroft.*

thought the honour of the nation so much concerned, that he presumed to take upon himself to order an Apartment in *Whitehall* immediately, and a great Table to be kept for him twice a day, with Yeomen of the guard to attend in his outward room, (which they never do but on the King only ;) for which strain of Authority he had the fortune to be thank'd both by King JAMES and the Prince of ORANGE. This was the highest Respect that could possibly be paid to the King of *Spain* his master ; and yet for himself, a better reparation was made afterwards by King WILLIAM, who gave him 17000 *l.* in lieu of his pretended losses ; but it rather was for his good service in persuading all the house of *Austria* to acknowledge him King, to which they were a great while extreamly averse, notwithstanding their Union with him against *France* and King JAMES.

THE Bishop of *Canterbury* refusing to come any more among those Lords who met at *Whitehall*, and the Archbishop of *York* being unaccustomed to the Business of such an assembly, a Lord before-named, one day propos'd the Marquis of HALLIFAX as a fit person to preside in it, which being agreed to, happened to be the cause of all his favour with the Prince of ORANGE ; who, finding him in that manner at the head of such a Council, and indeed ready to serve any turn, thought he might be useful in this conjuncture ; tho' before, he had always forbidden his agents ever to trust him with their design of coming into *England*. He was accordingly still forced to undergo an easy sort of tryal, before that party would intirely confide in him ; which was after this manner. When the King unexpectedly return'd from *Feverham*, they resolved in the
Prince's

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Prince's Council, that some persons should be sent to *Whitehall*, with an imperious sort of message in the dead of night, to make him understand, the Prince look'd on him as his prisoner, and accordingly expected he would immediately remove to *Ham*, under a Guard of *Dutchmen*. The Earl of SHREWSBURY and the Lord DELAMERE willingly undertook this extraordinary embassy; but the Prince added the Marquis of HALLIFAX to be at the head of it; and could not help smiling (as he own'd afterwards) to see him, who came a Commissioner to him from the other side, accept to act so low a part so very willingly. All this was after the King's being discover'd in *Kent*, before which time the Peers sat daily in the Council-chamber at *Whitehall*; where the Lord MULGRAVE one morning happen'd to be advertised privately, that the King had been seiz'd by the angry rabble of *Feversham*, and had sent a poor countryman with the news, in order to procure his rescue: which was like to come too late, since the messenger had waited long at the Council-door, without any body's being willing to take notice of him. This sad account mov'd him with great compassion, at such an extraordinary instance of worldly Uncertainty; and no cautions of offending the prevailing party, were able to restrain him from shewing a little indignation at so mean a proceeding in the Council. Upon which, their new President adjourn'd it hastily, in order to prevent him; but that Lord earnestly conjur'd them all to sit down again presently, that he might acquaint them with a matter which admitted of no delay, and was of the highest importance imaginable. Accordingly, the Lords, who knew nothing of the business, could not but hearken to it; and those few that guess'd it,
and

and saw the consequence, yet wanted time for concerting enough together about so nice, and so very important a matter, as saving or losing a King's life. The Lords therefore sat down again, and he then represented to them what a barbarity it would be, for such an assembly to connive at the rabble's tearing in pieces even any private Gentleman, much more, a Great Prince, who, with all his popery, was still their Sovereign. So that meer shame obliged them to suspend their Politicks a-while, and to call in the messenger, who told them with tears, how the King had with much difficulty engag'd him to deliver a letter from him to any persons whom he could find willing to save him from so imminent a danger. The letter had no superscription, and was to this effect: To acquaint the reader of it, that he had been discover'd in his retreat by some fishermen of *Kent*, and secur'd at first there by the Gentry, who were yet afterwards forc'd to resign him into the hands of an insolent rabble.

ON so pressing an occasion, and now so very publickly made known, the Council was surpriz'd, and under some difficulty: For, as there was danger of displeasing, by doing their duty, so there was no less, by omitting it; since the Law makes it highly criminal to be only passive in such an extremity: besides, that most of them unacquainted as yet with the Prince of *ORANGE*, imagin'd him prudent, and consequently capable of punishing so base a desertion, either out of generosity or policy. These found afterwards their caution needless; but at present it influenc'd the Council enough to make them send two hundred of the life-guard, under the command of their Captain, the Earl of *FEVERSHAM*, first to secure the King from all danger of the common people,

people, and afterward to attend him toward the sea-side if he continued his resolution of retiring ; which they thought it more decent to connive at, than to detain him here by force.

BUT it seems he was prevail'd on to lay aside or rather defer his journey to *France*, till a farther opportunity : and it is not unlikely, that trusting no body at that time, he might only pretend to be convinc'd of his error in going away, in order to get a better opportunity for it at *London*, than he could hope for in that country, where he was so narrowly watch'd, under the pretence of being only guarded. But whatever his design was, the shouts of joy, and shew of welcome which attended his coach through *London*, both startled his enemies, and inclined him a little to slight his friends ; openly blaming in Council all those Peers, who, in his absence, and out of meer necessity, had taken on themselves a power that was so very useful to the publick quiet. Which shews how jealous of their authority Princes are apt to be, tho' nothing can more endanger them, than such an overstraining it.

THE King's return altered all the measures taken in the Prince of ORANGE's camp, which was by this time become a court, and all places supposed to be at their disposal. The Prince, who needed counsel sometimes, had now more occasion than ever, to assemble all those about him, who were either of quality or consideration enough for it. Some, who yet have been since the greatest *Jacobites* and *Nonjurors*, propos'd the sending King JAMES to the *Tower*, and hinted at something farther. But even the worst-humour'd Princes are less severe than counsellors on such occasions, especially to persons of their own rank,

rank, with whom they cannot avoid having a kind of fellow-feeling. Whether (as some partial to him have imagined) it proceeded either from generosity, or some promise made to his Wife at parting ; or whether he was made believe, that neither the King's death nor imprisonment would help him to the Crown, so soon, as his escaping into *France*, a country so hated by the *English* ; or whether he might apprehend his Wife's title would be found better than his own, in case of her Father's being dead : on which soever of these grounds it was, the Prince of ORANGE at last resolved to connive at the King's going into *France*, and to preserve him from violence in order to it.

ACCORDING to this design of forcing him away by the despair of any accommodation, the Earl of FEVERSHAM (whom the King sent to the Prince with a Compliment) was, instead of a civil reception, clapt into prison immediately ; and Mr. ZUYLESTEIN was sent in all haste to *Kent*, to forbid the King's approaching to *London*.

BUT the King was arrived there before, in the midst of many joyful acclamations, which obliged the Prince to dally no longer, and to send those three Lords before mention'd, in such a manner as might seem almost to pronounce his doom. They affectedly came about midnight, and rather exacted, than desired admittance to his bed-side at that unseasonable hour ; where the Marquis of HALLIFAX informed him from the Prince, that it was dangerous to his Majesty, as well as to the publick peace, to remain in *London* ; and so desired his immediate going to *Ham*, a house near it, belonging to the Dutchess of LAUDERDALE.

THE

THE King understood the message, as well as his danger in being refractory ; therefore only desired *Ham* might be changed for *Rochester*, a town not far from the sea-coast of *France* ; to which the Lords soon brought him the Prince's consent ; and so he was conveyed thither by water, under a guard of fifty *Dutchmen*, whose officer had private orders to let him escape afterwards to *France*.

I MUST not omit two things, which shew'd his temper under such an unexpected change. When the stout Earl of CRAVEN resolved to be rather cut in pieces, than to resign his post at *Whitehall* to the Prince's guards, the King prevented that unnecessary bloodshed with a great deal of care and kindness : And amidst all that just apprehension of violence to his person, at the sudden entry into his chamber of those three Lords, he at least disguis'd it so well, as to discourse about the serving of the tide, and other things relating to his removal as coolly, and unconcernedly, as if it had been only a common journey.

THE same night that the King was sent thus to *Rochester*, the Prince of ORANGE came to *London* ; where the People were so frightened with a report artificially spread about of some *Irish* papists intending a massacre, and with the usual insolence of a rabble, that he was received with a seeming satisfaction.

THE next day he summoned all the Lords in town to *St. James's*, where he kept his court, and after he had in a few words opened the pretended cause of his coming, he desired them to consider of the fittest means to accomplish the good ends and promises in his Declaration ; which, as it was the first time, so it was also the

last, that ever he seem'd to remember those Promises, during all his reign.

THE Lords accordingly met next day at *Westminster*, where they only chose the Marquis of *HALLIFAX* for their Speaker, and made an order against any Papists appearing about the house of Parliament. But, on *Monday* following, notice was brought to the Lords, of the King's being escaped from *Rocheſter*, according to the before-mention'd tacit agreement about that matter between him and the Prince; who let him go, only because he thought his escaping into *France* would be the surest means of helping him to possess his place here. Of this the King himself was sensible, and therefore, as soon as ever his life was secure, he contrived to leave a letter behind him directed to the Earl of *MIDDLETON*, in which he appeal'd both to God and Man against his flight, forc'd upon him by so near a relation. His Courtiers moved to have this letter read, but it was carried by Vote in the negative; which was the first proof of the Lords intention of excluding their King, tho' many divisions arose among them afterwards about the best way of doing it.

THEY all agreed also now in two things the most important that could be. The first was, that a Convention should be summoned by circular letters in the Prince of *ORANGE*'s name, to all those places which have a right of chusing Members of Parliament: And secondly, that the Prince should be desired to manage all publick affairs, as well as the publick Moneys, in the meantime.

SOME who had estates in *Ireland*, desired the care and preservation of that important Kingdom might be particularly inserted into that Address; which

which was something oddly opposed by the new Court-party (for their sure expectation of a new King warrants me now to call them so) but yet the reason and meer necessity of the thing proposed, forced them to comply with it at last.

It may be wonder'd at, and scarce believed hereafter, that a full house of Noblemen, wherein were so many of the old Court and Council, should agree so readily to lay aside their King, and not so much as read the letter that he left behind him, which might almost be reckoned the last words of a dying Sovereign: But that was the cause of its being thought dangerous, and too moving to be read. It must also be consider'd, that of late, both the King's actions, and the Prince of ORANGE's (even as if they had agreed it between them) tended to the possessing every body with a strong opinion, of the Protestant Religion being endanger'd by the one, and protected by the other. This made almost all the King's Ministers, as well as his Courtiers expect more favour even under this new Prince, than they were like to find among a few bigots of a religion that endures no other. Therefore, since zeal in some, and interest in all, co-operated against the King, we need look for no farther reasons of so sudden a change.

BESIDES all this, we may reasonably conclude, that some few persons meaning the Prince no good, might think it imprudent to stem a tide, to no other purpose, except their own ruin: And therefore rather reserved that interest (which, by their compliance, they obtained both with the Prince and the People) to secure the publick good as much as possible, in a season when almost every body seem'd to abandon it. For some of the old Whigs, who had so long despair'd of Court-Fa-

vour, were now so transported with it, not only out of their old principles, but even out of their very senses also, that such a good opportunity was lost, of re-settling our old Constitution, as perhaps *England* is never like to have again. Which I do not observe with any regard to either of the Kings in competition; but I only mean, that (whichsoever Prince that Convention should set up) our Liberties might have been secured, and the Government fixed, on the best and steadiest foundations, and united interest of King and People.

THIS Address of the Lords, investing the Prince with almost Regal Power, tho' sufficiently welcome, was yet a little perplexing: For, as he could not but think it dangerous to dally with such an offer; so, on the other hand, it was not very safe to accept it, without the approbation of the Commons also.

THE difficulty lay in this; that he could have that approbation neither formally, nor plainly, without first assembling a Parliament; which yet itself alone was so great an Act of Sovereignty, that, to call it by the Lords advice only, was, in a manner, accepting the Regal Power from them.

HE was better advised in this, than in most other things; for a good expedient was resolv'd on. He reply'd, that he would consider of their Address, and, in the mean time, assembled at St. James's all those in town, who had been Members of King CHARLES's two last Parliaments, together with the Lord Mayor, Court of Aldermen, and fifty Representatives of the Common-Council, whom he desired to consider the extraordinary necessity of coming presently to some good resolution.

ACCORDINGLY

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ACCORDINGLY, they all went to *Westminster* next day, where, in the usual House of Commons (chusing Mr. POWLE for their Speaker) they imitated the Lords, in making exactly the same Address. And indeed both Houses might well concur in all, since influenced, I might have said enforc'd by the same causes ; which last expression I make use of, both on account of the Prince's army here, commanded by a famous General, the Marechal DE SCHOMBERG, and also of a murmur which went about, that the City Apprentices were coming down to *Westminster* in a violent rage against all who voted against the Prince of ORANGE's interest. And 'tis certain that some hot-headed persons were hardly restrained by the Prince of ORANGE himself, who lik'd their zeal, but found no need of using such a sort of means, as might justly invalidate all that should be then done in his favour.

As soon as they had thus publickly address'd to the Prince, and every man had privately adjusted his own conditions with him, both Houses dissolved themselves, in order to go into their several countries to influence the approaching election of that Convention which was to settle all things.

'Tis easily imagin'd, that all possible industry was used, for chusing only persons ill-affected to the unhappy King, which (for that only reason, because he was so) were not very difficult to find. But it happened also, that the *Church-party* was almost as much oppos'd as the *Jacobites*, because inclin'd to set up the Princess of ORANGE, above even the Prince her husband ; notwithstanding that he was here, arm'd, and she was absent. For this reason she was kept in *Holland*, till he

had master'd that difficulty, which vex'd him more than any other.

THERE was opposition also from her sister the Princess of *Denmark*, who thought it hard to lose her rank of succession, by yielding the Crown to him who was but the second branch, and of whom she had deserved so well: And now both these sisters were assisted in their several pretensions by the *Church-party*, for one reason only, *viz.* because they were bred up extremely devoted to it.

ONE of the Prince's arguments (tho' he gave some more solid ones, that seldom fail to persuade) was indeed a little extraordinary; for he very gravely endeavour'd to make his friends believe, that he would leave them all in the lurch, by returning with his army into *Holland*, rather than yield the title to his own wife: And a while he opposed (tho' to no purpose) even her being joined with himself in the Sovereignty. Which shews the extreme restlessness of ambition, even in its highest scenes of success. For, tho' an almost extravagant expedition had thus luckily succeeded, even beyond his utmost hopes; yet, upon this jealousy, he grew more uneasy, than perhaps ever in his life before.

ON this account he grew jealous of his most intimate confidants among the *English*, because they had so much regard to his wife, with whom he liv'd always coldly and a little imperiously (imitating in that *HENRY VII.*) tho' her constant and most remarkable compliance with him, even against her own father and principles also, had been a mighty help to all his designs.

AT this time, among other consultations held in several places about these matters, there was one appointed at Mr. *WILLIAM HERBERT's*

lodgings in *St. James's*, who was then sick of the gout, and so concern'd at the great favourite's urging it was best to make the Princess no Sovereign, and only a Queen-Consort ; that, rising out of bed with earnestness, he protested against ever drawing a sword on the Prince's side, if he could have imagin'd him capable of such usage to his wife. This so alarm'd and convinc'd *Monf. BENTINCK*, of the impossibility of obtaining a point, which even so interested a Courtier as *HERBERT* refus'd to comply in, that in half an hour's time he brought them assurance from the Prince of his not insisting on it, and of his being content with a conjunctive Sovereignty, on condition he might have the sole Administration ; which last they consented to, because she herself so desired it.

THE pretensions of the Princess of *Denmark* were more easily accommodated : For, since the *Lord CHURCHILL* (who govern'd that family) was like to be highly favoured in this new reign, they little thought of hers. And therefore, with a good bribe to her favourite, the Prince had no more to do, but to promise the Princess a great pension by a settlement in Parliament ; which being in present, and enough to keep her Court in splendor, was then thought equivalent to three Kingdoms in reversion.

THUS were all things dispos'd for the Convention in the Cabals on the Prince of *ORANGE's* side ; and it met on the 22d of *January*. The Prince sent to both Houses a letter, urging them to all imaginable expedition, under the pretence of common dangers. But as soon as the Lords had chosen the Marquis of *HALLIFAX* again for their Speaker, a letter was straight brought in, directed to the Speaker of that House : And it ap-

pearing by the bearer of it, Mr. GREY, that it was given him by the Earl of MELFORD at *St. Germain's* in *France*, where our King then liv'd, the Lords with a kind of clamour forbad it to be read. By which it appear'd plainly, what was like to follow against that unhappy Prince; tho' they still divided about the manner of excluding him.

Now this is the place where I would spare no care I am capable of, to explain all those secret turns in this famous Assembly, which at last made a new settlement of the Crown of *England*, (I wish I could say, of its Prerogative also, by the just bounding of which all our Liberties subsist) but alas! that was the least thought of even by those who dethron'd a King, and impoverish'd a nation, under that pretence only.

THE House of Commons was the most unanimous in the new courtship; and therefore it was thought wisest to begin this great business there; from whence they sent up to the Lords this following Vote: *That the King by having broken the Original Contract, and by having withdrawn himself out of the Kingdom, had abdicated the Government, and so the Throne was become vacant.*

THE House of Lords was extreamly full, scarce one of them was absent, except the Papists; and it was divided into three parties: That of the *High Church* inclin'd to the two Princesses: Those we now call *Whigs*, assured of good employments under the Prince: And a third, very much the smallest, inclin'd to the unfortunate King, some out of conscience, but more out of despair of favour from the Prince.

Left unfinished.

A
L E T T E R
T O

Doctor *Tillotson*,

Then D E A N, afterwards

ARCHBISHOP of *Canterbury*.

Written and Printed just after the Revolution.

S I R,

N OTHING in this world is, or ought to be so dear to any man of honour, as his reputation ; and consequently the defence of it is the greatest obligation that one man can lay on another. There are also some circumstances that render this obligation yet more acceptable and valuable ; as when 'tis confer'd generously, without any self-interest, or the least desire or invitation from the person so defended. All this happens to be my case at this time ; and therefore I hope you will not be surpriz'd to find I am not the most ungrateful and insensible man living ;

living ; which certainly I should be, if I did not acknowledge all your industrious concern for me about the business of the Ecclesiastical commission, which now makes so much noise in the world. You have (as I am told) so cordially pleaded my cause, that 'tis almost become your own ; and therefore (as unwilling as I am to speak of myself, especially in a business which I cannot wholly excuse) yet I think myself now a little oblig'd to shew, that my part in this matter, though imprudent enough, yet is not altogether unworthy of so just and considerable an advocate.

THE less a man says for himself, the better ; and 'tis so well understood already with what great care I was sometimes excluded from knowing the most important designs of the Court, that I need not justify myself, or trouble you as to those matters : only I appeal to the unquestionable testimony of the *Spanish* Ambassador, if I did not zealously and constantly take all occasions to oppose the *French* interest ; because I knew it directly opposite both to the King and Kingdom's good ; which are indeed things inseparable, and ought to be so accounted, as a fundamental maxim in all councils of Princes.

THIS I hope will prepare the way a little for what I have to say, concerning my being one of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, of which error I am now as sensible as I was at first ignorant ; being so unhappily conversant in the midst of a perpetual Court-flattery, as never to have heard the least word of any illegality in that commission, before I was unfortunately engaged in it.

FOR tho' my Lord of CANTERBURY had very prudently refused to be of it ; yet it was told us at Court, and by the King himself, that his refusal proceeded only from his unwillingness to act

act at that time, and not from any illegality he suspected in the commission: having excus'd himself from it the most respectful way, only upon the account of his age, and the infirmities he lay under. Being thus ignorant of the laws, and in such a station at Court and Council, I need not desire a man of your judgment and candour to consider the hardness of my case, when I was commanded to serve in a commission with a Lord Chancellor, a Lord Chief Justice, and two Bishops; who had all of them acted some time already without shewing the least diffidence of their power, or any hesitation in the execution of it. And perhaps a man of more discretion than I can pretend to, might have been easily persuaded to act in such a conjunction, and to think he might do it safely, both in Law and Conscience. But I need not say much to shew my desire of avoiding, if possible, a troublesome commission, that had not the least temptation of honour or profit to recommend it; and in which therefore you know I continued on no account in the world, but to serve both the King and Clergy with the little ability I had, in moderating those councils, which we thought might grow higher, if I left my places to be filled by those who greedily waited for them, in order to their foolish designs.

AND since I have been forced to mention my good will at least, if not my service, to such learned men of the clergy, who I thought deserved it; it may be allowed me to give this one instance of it: That, although in preferring men to all other places of the household, I ever used to ask permission first, (and accordingly was often refused for the sake of *Roman Catholics*, and others who were recommended by persons more in fa-

vour

your than my self) yet I was so careful of keeping that considerable part of the family unmix'd with mean or unworthy chaplains (whom others I fear'd would have impos'd on his Majesty, against his intention) that I constantly fill'd up those vacancies, without giving him the least notice or trouble about it; and supply'd them with the ablest approv'd Divines I could possibly find, most commonly recommended to me by those Bishops who were not of the Court. This I conceived the most proper course in a matter concerning clergy-men, with a King of a different persuasion from theirs; and I intended it for his real service; believing it had been better for that unhappy Prince, as well as the Kingdom, if the greater Ecclesiastical Dignities had been dispos'd of by others with as much caution.

AND thus, *Sir*, I have endeavour'd to confirm you in your favourable opinion of me; which must be acknowledg'd by every body an approbation of such weight, that as I hope it may be an example of great authority to many, so 'tis sufficient of itself to balance the censoriousness of others. *I am,*

S I R,

Your obliged humble Servant,

M U L G R A V E.

THE
 Earl of *Mulgrave's*
 S P E E C H

In the HOUSE of LORDS,

FOR THE

Bill touching free and impartial Proceedings in Parliament.

THIS debate is of so great consequence that I resolved to be silent, and rather to be advised by the ability of others, than to shew my own want of it ; besides, it is of so nice a nature, that I who speak always unpremeditatedly, apprehend extremely the saying any thing which may be thought the least reflecting : though even that ought not to restrain a man here from doing his duty to the publick, in a business where it seems to be so highly concern'd.

I HAVE always heard, I have always read, that foreign nations, and all this part of the world, have admir'd and envy'd the constitution
 of

of this Government. For not to speak of the King's power, here is a house of Lords to advise him on all important occasions, about peace or war; about all things that may concern the nation, the care of which is very much intrusted to your Lordships. But yet because your Lordships cannot be so conversant with the generality of the people, nor so constantly in the country as is necessary for that purpose, here is a House of Commons also chosen by the very people themselves, newly come from among them, or should be so, to represent boldly all their grievances, to express the true mind of the nation, and to dispose of their money, at least so far as to begin all bills of that nature; and if I am not mistaken, the very writ for elections sent down to the Sheriffs, does empower them to chuse. What? Their Representatives. Now, my Lords, I beseech you to consider the meaning of the word *Representative*: Is it to do any thing contrary to their mind? It would be absurd to suppose it; and yet how can it be otherwise, if they, after their being chosen, change their dependency, engage themselves in employments plainly inconsistent with that great trust reposed in them? And that I will take the liberty to demonstrate to your Lordships they now do, at least according to my humble opinion.

I WILL instance first in the least and lowest incapacity they must be under, who so take employments.

YOUR Lordships know but too well what a general carelessness there appears every day more and more in the publick business: If so, how is it likely that men should be as diligent in their duty in Parliament as that business requires, where employments,

ployments, and a great deal of other business, shall take up both their minds and their time?

BUT then in some cases 'tis worse; as in Commands of the army, and other employments of that kind, when they must have a divided duty: For it does admirably become an officer to sit voting away money in the House of Commons, while his soldiers are perhaps taking it away at their quarters, for want of his presence to restrain them, and of better discipline among them; nay, perhaps his troop or regiment may be in some action abroad, and he must either have the shame of being absent from them at such a time, or from that House, where he is entrusted with all our Liberties. To this I have heard but one objection by a noble Lord, That if this act should pass, the King is not allow'd to make a captain or a colonel, without disabling him to sit in Parliament, by such a commission.

TRULY, if a captain has only deserv'd to be advanced for exposing himself in Parliament, I think the nation would have no great loss in the King's letting alone such a preferment.

BUT, my Lords, there is another sort of incapacity yet worse than this; I mean that of Parliament-men's having such places in the *Exchequer*, as the very profit of them depends on the money given to the King in Parliament. Would any of your Lordships send and entrust a man to make a bargain for you, whose very interest shall be to make you give as much as he can possibly?

IT puts me in mind of a *Farce*, where an actor holds a dialogue with himself, speaking first in one tone, and then answering himself in another.

REALLY

REALLY, my Lords, this is no *Farce*; for it's no laughing-matter to undo a nation: But 'tis altogether as unnatural for a member of Parliament to ask first in the King's name for such a sort of a supply, give an account from him how much is needful towards the paying such an army, or such a fleet, and then immediately give, by his ready vote, what he had before ask'd by his master's order. Besides, my Lords, there is such a necessity now for long Sessions of Parliament, and the very privileges belonging to members are of so great extent; that it would be a little hard and unequal to other gentlemen, that they should have all the Places too, as well as the Privileges.

ALL the objections that have been made, may be reduced to these:

FIRST 'tis told us, That 'tis a disrespect to the King, if his servants or officers be excluded.

To this, I desire it may be consider'd, That 'tis in this case, as when a tenant sends up any body to treat for him; would any of your Lordships think it a disrespect, nay would the King himself think it any, if the tenant would not wholly refer himself to one of your own servants, or the King's commissioners in the case of the crown? And if he chuses rather some plain honest friend of his own, to supply his absence here; will any blame such a proceeding, or think it unmannerly?

BESIDES, your Lordships know even this Act admits them to be chosen, notwithstanding their employments; provided the Electors know it first, and are not deceived in their choice.

ALL we would prevent, is, that a good rich corporation should not chuse to entrust with all their liberties, a plain honest country neighbour,
and

and find him within six months changed into a preferred, cunning courtier ; who shall tie them to their choice, though he is no more the same man than if he were turn'd *Papist* ; which by the Law, as it stands already, puts an incapacity upon him.

ANOTHER objection is, That this act may, by its consequence, prolong this Parliament ; which they allow would be a very great grievance ; and yet suppose the King capable of putting it upon us : I have too much respect for him to admit of this ; but I am glad however that 'tis objected by Privy-counsellors in favour ; who consequently, I hope, will never advise a thing, which they now exclaim against as so great a grievance.

BUT pray, my Lords, what should tempt the King to so ill a policy ? Can he fear a freedom of choice in the people ; to whose good-will he owes all that power, which these Lords suppose he may use to their prejudice ?

THEREFORE give me leave to say, as I must not suspect him of so ill a design as the perpetuating this Parliament, so he cannot, he ought not to suspect a nation, so entirely (I was going to say so fondly) devoted to him.

MY Lords, no man is readier than myself to allow that we owe the Crown all submission, as to the time of calling Parliaments according to law, and appointing also where they shall sit. But with reverence be it spoken, the King owes the nation entire freedom, in chusing their Representatives ; and it is no less his duty, than his true interest, that such a fair and just proceeding should be used towards us.

CONSIDER, my Lords, of what mighty consequence it may be, that so many votes should be

free, when upon one single one may depend the whole security or loss of this nation. By one single vote a general excise may be granted, and then we are all lost. By one single vote the Crown may be impower'd to name all the Commissioners for raising the taxes, and then surely we should be in a fair way towards it.

NAY, whatever has happen'd may again be apprehended ; and I hope those reverend Prelates will reflect, that if they grow once obnoxious to a prevalent Party, one single voice may be as dangerous to that bench, as a general dissatisfaction among the People prov'd to be once in a late experiment : which I am far from saying by way of threatening, but by way of caution.

MY LORDS, we may think, because this concerns not the House of Lords, that we need not be so over-careful of the matter ; but there are noblemen in *France*, at least such as were so before they were enslav'd, who, that they might domineer over others, and serve a present turn perhaps, let all things alone so long, till the people were quite master'd, and the nobility themselves too, to bear them company. So that I never met a *Frenchman*, even of the greatest rank (and some had ten thousand Pistoles a year in employments) that did not envy us here for our freedom from that slavery which they groan under : And this I have observ'd universally, except in Monsieur DE LOUVOIS, Monsieur COLBERT, or such people ; because they were the ministers themselves who occasion'd these complaints, and thrived by the oppression of others.

MY LORDS,

THIS country of ours is very apt to be provok'd ; we have had a late experience : and tho'

no

no wise man but would bear a great deal rather than make a baffle; yet really the people are otherwise, and at any time change a present uneasiness for any other condition, tho' a worse. We have known it so too often, and sometimes repented it too late.

LET them not have this new provocation, in being debarred from a security in their *Representatives*. For malicious people will not fail to infuse into their minds, that all those vast sums which have been, and still must be raised towards this war, are not disposed away in so fair a manner as ought to be; and I am afraid they will say their money is not *given*, but *taken*.

I AM sure, whatever success this Bill may have, there must needs come some good effect of it; for if it passes, it will give us *Security*; if it be obstructed, it will give us *Warning*.

A
S P E E C H
I N T H E
HOUSE of PEERS,

April 18, 1695.

YOUR Lordships have shewn me so much justice, and indeed so much favour and patience, in your examination of this whole business, at my humble request; that I should make an ill return, if I wasted your time unnecessarily. And therefore I will not trouble you with observations on those unusual methods, odd aggravations, and inexcusable delays, that some few persons have openly practised in this debate. I will not, I need not insist upon it; your Lordships have all taken notice of it sufficiently; and the truth is, such an over-eagerness in a very small number against the opinion of the rest, instead of hurting me, only exposes themselves. Yet I am sorry for this odd manner of proceeding, notwithstanding all the advantage it has given me: because it has also given occasion for a malicious suspicion in this censorious town,

as if I had done these Lords some sort of private injury ; of which yet I am so innocent, that they will not add it to their other accusations against me, I am confident.

NEITHER will I take up your Lordships time with recriminations ; I confess it is hard to hold, when 'tis so easy to do it ; the subject is ample enough, and your Lordships will not think it so unbecoming a gentleman to return an accusation, as it was to be the first accuser : but tho' never so much tempted, I have too much respect for this great assembly to entertain you so ill.

THE only thing I shall trouble you with, is the defence of what a man cannot be too careful of, my honour ; and accordingly shall tell your Lordships a true story very plainly. If I should fail in any thing, it wou'd be no wonder, since I have neither used counsel without doors, nor troubled you with any here ; being of opinion any man is able to speak truth without any assistance.

ABOUT four years ago I design'd to build a house, and therefore dispos'd of that I lived in to the *Spanish* Ambassador ; inquir'd every where for ground ; treated with Mr. NEAL for his beyond *Berkley*-house, and with many others also ; but at last fixed on that spot of ground you have now heard so much of. Upon my proposing it to those concern'd, I found two difficulties ; first, the title was so perplex'd, there was no buying without an Act of Parliament to clear it ; the second was, that the inheritance of this ground after seventy four years, is in the City of *London*. I endeavour'd to overcome the first of these difficulties, by procuring an agreement among the proprietors in the present lease of seventy four years, in order to have an Act of Parliament ;

and for the other, I treated with the City, desiring only four acres in all, for a house, a court before it, and a small garden behind it. I think the first time I propos'd it was here in the Bishops lobby to Sir——HUBLAND, Sir R. CLAYTON, and three more of the city all together, who then assur'd me the inheritance could not be parted with. Upon this I desired a lease of one hundred and fifty years, which yet was refused ; and after many months I obtained one of one hundred years only.

WHILE this was treating above a twelve-month, one of the city officers brought me articles to sign ; of which one was, that the lease should be void, unless I procur'd such an Act of Parliament to pass for settling all matters about it ; wherein some clauses of his penning might be inserted for the City's advantage. This condition appeared so unreasonable to me, (who was only one of the many parties that were to consent to such a private Act, before ever the Parliament, I knew, would pass it) that in a little heat I told this small officer Mr. LANE (the worthy witness) that it must be his own proposal, and too extravagant a one to come from the City, who had never asked such a condition. Mr. LANE grew excessive angry, as the other person then present has sworn ; and very pertly told me he was not to be ruffled out of his care for the City by any subject whatsoever ; and yet, to pacify the good man, who might by his place do ill offices by a misrepresentation, I agreed (not that an Act should pass, tho' a private one) but only that I would, as a party, give my consent to it as soon as all the other proprietors did so too. But the true reason why I refused his proposal, was not for the least doubt I had of your Lordships passing

ing the Bill (which now lies on the table ready drawn by Mr. FOULKS, who sent it at my request) but only because in justice your Lordships require all parties agreement to any private Bill, which I fear'd so many of them would hardly be persuaded to ; and then my Grant from the City was to have been void, if I had signed his fine proposal.

To make an end of a long story, the City granted the Lease at last, and it lies also on your table, full of covenants so much to the City's advantage, and so little to mine, (there being some articles of charge to me besides the rent) that I have sold to the Lord JEFFERYES for one hundred guineas this great present of the City (of which some have made such a noise) because it is of no use to me without building my house ; which design fails only for want of the mortgagee's being able to make a sure title ; and they are not enough agreed to get an Act to pass about it. Upon this I will make a few remarks and so conclude. First,

THE value of this is, you see, so very inconsiderable, that it alone answers all suspicion about it : For tho' a bribe of a meer bawble is inexcusable ; yet when circumstances are examined in order to judge if it be a bribe, or not, I suppose a plain gold ring is not to be suspected as much as a diamond of one thousand pounds.

THE next objection vanishes about my undertaking for this Act, when it is considered how many instances there are every day of members in both Houses who article, not only as I have done, to endeavour at, but also to procure a private Act of Parliament ; because indeed they can be understood to mean no more by it, than to consent themselves, to persuade others what they

can, and sometimes to pay the fees of the clerks, which in this very Lease I am oblig'd to free the City from, whenever the Act passes.

THE length of the Lease is as odd a cavil as the rest ; since one hundred years is certainly as proportionable a term for such a great house, as forty years for a little one, especially considering how slightly they build those little ones now-a-days.

WHEREAS there was some mention of my obliging the city about GULSTON'S Bill ; I confess my memory did not lay that value upon it, as it seems their gratitude did, who own'd the obligation. It appears to have been a private bill which invaded the City of *London's* rights, against which I deliver'd their petition, and made the matter so plain, that your Lordships threw out the Bill.

IT happen'd very lately, that an honest country gentleman heard only by accident, of an Act's being like to pass, which had undone him. I fancy if any Lord had stopp'd it, either out of good will to him, or justice ; the gentleman would call that Lord his friend ever after, and drink his health too, in spite of all his enemies.

CONSIDER also the open manner of this whole proceeding with a great City, for at least a year together without interruption.

EACH clause stood upon with all strictness, and every article disputed by counsel before them.

BEFORE a committee of twelve common council men, and six aldermen deputed to manage such things.

CARRIED at last there (I desire your Lordships will take notice of that remark, because of a great estate lost here lately by equal votes) not by an Equality ; if so, I should not wonder at a review taken of it ; for things carried in that kind,
will

will be talk'd of, and perhaps once more considered. But this was done, my Lords, by a great majority ; it was sworn here at your Bar that there were but three against it, and they too own to your Lordships themselves, it was only because they thought the ground worth ten pounds a year more ; which being after seventy years to come, is to be valued at a year's purchase ; so I have a notable bargain of ten pounds, according even to their oaths, who crossed me in it, because indeed influenced by that City-officer.

OBSERVE also, if you please, my Lords, the City sent their officers several times to view this ground, by which one of my opposers own'd here he was at last convinc'd, that it was a good bargain for the City, upon account of their pipes and building.

AND now, my Lords, I have reserv'd to the last, what alone would vindicate this business. This very ground is in trustees names for the City, one of whom is an infant ; so, they could make me no legal title before he comes to age, and I have only an equitable one to depend on. Therefore when this is to be confirmed and made valid, the city must be under other governors, who will never sure confirm an ill thing done by these : and they cannot be compelled to it, but in the court of *Chancery* ; which must then review all this whole proceeding.

As to the Convex-Lights, your Lordships have seen I am not the least concern'd ; but it falls out unluckily for my accusers, that they pretend I am too much regarded by so great a City for assisting them on all occasions (which I shall ever be proud of) and yet all the while blame me for stopping their Orphans Bill by my only interest here : A direct contradiction.

I HAVE troubled your Lordships too long about so slight a matter ; which indeed was unnecessary ; for though it happen'd once that many misdemeanors amounted to a treason, I am confident a thousand slanders out of the mouth of what great man soever, will never here be able to give a suspicion of misdemeanor, unless of himself who slanders.

MY LORDS,

I AM too often entertaining your Lordships on all other occasions ; and perhaps should be too apt to do it in my own case, especially if any Lord should either object, or recite amiss ; which in this debate has been found not impossible. I ask your leave therefore to withdraw ; not doubting but in such a case, my innocence will be safe under your Lordships protection, and much better defended than if I were here myself to look after it.

O B S E R.

OBSERVATIONS

ON THE

Statute of TREASONS,

Passed the 25th of EDWARD III.

THE HISTORY OF

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

FROM 1776 TO 1876

BY JAMES M. SMITH

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OBSERVATIONS

ON THE

Statute of Treasons.

I AM sensible it becomes me to be very circumspect, when I advance any thing that is singular in a part of learning, in which I have been so little conversant: I shall only therefore propose my opinions, with the grounds for them, leaving their probability to be decided by others, whose profession has qualified them to be proper judges.

I. THE first article of this statute is about compassing or imagining the King's Death; and upon that, my Lord COKE asserts a little oddly, in my humble opinion, that a person not *compos mentis*, and an *infant*, are neither of them to be comprehended within this statute, because they cannot be supposed capable of any design; and he says farther, That although by the statute of 33 HEN. 8. a man falling mad after the fact, was to be try'd and attainted notwithstanding; and, if after the condemnation, was yet to be executed; it was too cruel and inhumane a law to be long unrepeal'd.

I CANNOT but think this opinion of his a little extraordinary, because of the great facility there may be either of an infant's being put upon committing a mischief of this kind ; or of any person's counterfeiting madness for that very purpose : We know too, of how unlimited an age an infant in law is, provided he be under twenty one years. So that methinks, where so general and publick a mischief is to be prevented, no loop-hole for escaping ought to be admitted.

A MAN's falling mad after such a fact, is so ill an excuse from punishment, that (besides the great temptation of counterfeiting it) such a disorder of the brain may be very well supposed an usual consequence of so black a crime ; especially when the criminal hears that dreadful sentence which our law pronounces against it.

AND if my Lord COKE's opinion in this case should prevail, I believe few would ever die for treason ; since a man must be really mad, not to affect it in such a case of necessity. Neither do I see why there should be so great a tenderness as is sufficient to ballance the punishing so black a mischief ; for to one truly distracted, death is not so great an evil, as his suffering may be a good to others by way of terrour and example.

2. 'TIS no wonder the meer design against a King's life is treason by this statute ; since, at the time of making it, the design only of murdering any body was felony, and punish'd with death. This was the only difference ; That, in case of a subject, the ill design was to appear by some act of violence, as wounding, &c. but in this case, any act whatsoever that proves such a design, is sufficient. My Lord COKE is of opinion, That no *Words* are enough for being accounted an overt-act, unless set down in writing by the criminal ;

STATUTE OF TREASONS. III

minal ; in which I think he leaves it yet too general ; because writing is almost as subject to misconstruction, as speaking : Tho' I confess his instance is a good one, of Cardinal POOL's exhortation to the Emperor for his invading *England* in HENRY the Eighth's time : Which must be allow'd to be a paramount overt-act of treason, though he should have written but one letter about it.

3. I AM a little unsatisfy'd also with another explanation of this act by my Lord COKE, where he says, that designing to depose, imprison, or take into one's power the King is within this statute ; and yet will not allow a design of levying war to be so. For the only reason which he gives himself, why those first designs are within the statute, is the great danger a King must needs be in, when so deposed or imprisoned ; for the bare words of the statute do not reach it : Now, sure the same inference, if a good one, holds as well in this latter case ; since a war levy'd against a King, may as well endanger his person, as either a deposition, or an imprisonment. But the truth is, a meer design of deposition, imprisonment, or levying war, are not within the bare words of this law ; but yet the judges in all times have so over-rul'd it otherwise, that whosoever is mischievous enough to be found guilty of such ill designs, will, to his cost, find the Judges as mischievous in stretching the law against him ; tho' all the while they pretend to be of his Council.

4. ALL Lawyers are of opinion, that by this statute is meant even a King *de Facto* ; for they say a King *de Jure* may afterwards punish, according to this statute, any man who has for any cause but his Title, conspired against a King *de Facto*. The reason of which seems to be good ;
since

since the publick is more concern'd in having their peace and plenty disturb'd, than in preferring one King before another, or in determining the rights of the two *Roses*. For I would fain know, if it had not been better for the poor people of *England* that some third Branch had obtain'd the Crown from them both, and possess'd it quietly, than to be torn in pieces with such a Civil War as we cannot read without horror.

5. THE next Treason in this Act is about violating the Queen; and the words are (*la Compagne du Roy*) which might be understood of any Mistress a King should own publicly, if the weight of the crime lay only in disrespect or injury to the King; but 'tis chiefly in the disturbance it may give the publick: And therefore the King's Wife only can be here understood, because the people are highly concern'd in his Issue by her; but have nothing to do with his illegitimate Children, or with those Women by whom he has them.

So also the Statute mentions only the King's eldest Daughter, and his eldest Son's Wife; whereas the disrespect to him would be as great in violating his second Daughter, or his second Son's Wife: But in that case the publick is not so concern'd, on whose account chiefly this Law was made, and not so much out of regard to his Person or Dignity.

6. 'Tis generally taken for granted, and, as I remember, my Lord COKE himself says, *That a Queen-Consort herself is within this Statute, if consenting to be enjoyed*: But I see no ground for that opinion, except HENRY the Eighth's practice; there being not a word of it in this Act.

AND because the Act provides no punishment for a Queen, nor for either of those Princesses
so

so offending, I believe it is wholly mistaken, and by the word (*violate*) a Rape only is intended; and consequently the woman cannot be guilty. For if it was meant otherwise, by what justice or reason should that fact (of love perhaps) draw so great a punishment on the man, while the woman whose falsehood to the King augments her crime, and makes it a double treason, yet by this act wholly escapes unpunish'd?

BESIDES; what fault has the injur'd King done in such a case, that his cuckoldom is to be made publick, and every body is to endeavour the discovery of it under pain of misprision; and yet himself not freed from such an adulterous wife by any clause in this Law, which never mentions her as a criminal? By all which it appears, that a rape only is meant in this statute, (an injury indeed, but not so great a shame to the husband, according to the foolish custom of the world) as indeed the word (*violer*) implies; and had never been, I believe, interpreted otherwise, but for HENRY the Eighth, who, to get rid of two wives in his arbitrary way, stretch'd it to adultery: With which too he was not contented; but got a Law to pass, which made it Treason both in any woman he should ever marry, and in her Lover also, if they could be prov'd to have lain together formerly, and had not acquainted him with it before his marriage: Which my Lord HERBERT says, did so frighten all the women, that he was forc'd to be contented with a widow at last; because others were afraid he might pretend to miss a maiden-head, and so cut off a wife's head, as soon as he grew weary of her.

UPON this occasion, I remember a pleasant difficulty which happen'd in the time of Queen

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ELIZABETH. An Act was drawn about establishing her issue ; and the usual words of such statutes in her licentious Father's reign are (*issue lawfully begotten.*) This appear'd to the Parliament a little unmannerly ; so that the words (*issue lawfully begotten*) were chang'd into these (*natural born issue*) and sometime (*issue of her body :*) But this being a variation of the customary phrase, it gave a jealousy among the people, that her great favourite LEICESTER intended to set up for King some bastard of his after her death, and pretend he was born of her, and bred up privately.

7. ANOTHER observation is, that by the word (*Compagne*) a Queen Dowager is excluded according to the opinion of all Lawyers ; yet this is not so clear, if we consider her to have been once (*la Compagne du Roy*) by which that word may reach her, especially within some time after her husband's death ; for, during a possibility of being left *enceinte*, the reason of the Law will include her also as well as a King's wife, upon the publick account. All which is still a confirmation of the statute's meaning only a rape ; for else, not only a Queen, a King's eldest daughter, and his eldest son's wife, but the widows also, are most dangerous persons to be approach'd, and even for some time after their husband's death ; which consists not with the meaning of a Law that was intended altogether in favour of the subject, and for which *England* hath sung encomiums of King EDWARD to this day.

8. THE next thing in it to be consider'd, are these words (*the King's eldest Son and Heir*) by which copulative (*and*) he must be his Heir, as well as eldest son ; which supposes a possibility of
altering

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altering by Act of Parliament the Line of Succession, and taking it from the eldest.

9. 'Tis certainly meant also, that, unless the King's eldest daughter be unmarried, and consequently more expos'd by wanting a husband's care, there is no Treason in the case; for otherwise, a King's second son's wife had been named before her, as being nearer the Crown: And this confirms it to be meant a rape all along, to which a single woman is more liable than one probably marry'd to some foreign Prince. Whereas from the danger of an intrigue, I suppose those wise Law-makers would hardly have thought her the more secure by marriage. If it be urg'd that both the other Ladies protected by this Law are wives, which lessens the force of my last argument; I desire it may be consider'd that all the care of those, is only upon account of their husbands, *viz.* the King, and Prince of WALES, in whom the publick is so much concern'd; but not at all for them, before they become those Princes wives: Whereas one so near the Crown as a King's eldest daughter, is in her own person of too great consequence, not to be guarded by this Law, 'till she has a husband, who is then suppos'd capable of defending her himself against all such violent attempts.

It may be objected, that if a rape only was meant, there was no need of this Law against it; because that crime committed against the meanest person was already punishable with death: But in this case the death is made more severe, and also the blood attainted.

10. As to the following Article, my Lord COKE has another odd opinion; That, altho' it comes within this statute, to assist the King's enemies; it does not reach those who assist rebels;

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because (he says) rebels cannot properly be call'd enemies, but rather traitors. Accordingly he makes a great difference between the crimes of conspiring with a foreign Prince (which he accounts Treason) and of conspiring at home with other subjects to levy war (which he says is none, unless the war be actually made) which seems as if he allow'd a people, in some extraordinary cases, to project a remedy among themselves, but never to confide in, or join with, any stranger about it.

11. THE next Article is about counterfeiting the Great Seal, and Privy Seal; where both the Privy-Signet, and Sign Manual are left out, but added (I think unwisely) in a later statute.

12. CLIPPING, washing, and filing money for lucre sake, are also added since to the Treasons in this Act about money. But, tho' both these additions only supply what appears to be rather forgotten than left out of this statute; yet I wonder at those Parliaments that thought such inconsiderable things worth their breaking a gap for an addition of Treasons, after their wise ancestors had by this Law made such a fence against them, by taking away all those at the common Law.

13. BUT the most considerable part of all this statute is the word (*provably*) a most significant one; and yet in our printed Statute-books 'tis changed into the word (*probably*) one most dangerous, and unintelligible, and worthy of a publick amendment in Parliament: For tho' 'tis rectify'd in the margin of KEBLE's collection; such a wrong word foisted in, is a little suspicious, and would hardly be continu'd so long there by chance. Perhaps it has been thought there is more need of discouraging all such attempts, than
of

of setting bounds to the Judges, or Jury ; but 'tis plain that King EDWARD the third was not of that mind.

14. THE next thing is the clause which makes it Treason to kill the Chancellor, Treasurer, or any Justice in doing his office ; by which their persons are not otherwise protected than in the execution of their employments : And the reason why a King's person is made by this Law so very sacred at all times, is because he is always executing his great office either by himself or his deputies ; all acts of justice running still in his name, who is ever suppos'd to intend that right should be done even against himself or favourites ; and therefore any failure of it in those deputies is punishable, notwithstanding any direction they may have from him to excuse it.

15. THERE are three other Treasons mentioned after this ; of a wife's killing her husband ; a servant his master ; or a clergy-man his prelate ; on which I will only observe, that a worse than all these is omitted ; in imitation I suppose of old *Rome*, which made no Law against Parricides, because they thought human villainy incapable of arriving at so great a height. But our ancestors might have consider'd, that two thousand years are a great while for mischief to grow in, especially in these hot Climates of Zeal and Enthusiasm.

16. Now comes the most important clause in this Act to be consider'd, which is in these words. “ And because that many other like
“ cases of Treason may happen in time to come,
“ which a man cannot think nor declare at this
“ present time, it is accorded, That if any other
“ case, supposed Treason which is not above spe-
I 3 “ cify'd,

“ cify’d, doth happen before any Justices ; the
 “ Justices shall tarry without any going to judg-
 “ ment of the Treason, ’till the cause be shew’d
 “ and declar’d before the King and his Parlia-
 “ ment, whether it ought to be judg’d Treason
 “ or Felony.”

THERE has been so great a difference in opinion about the true interpretation of this clause, that I hope it is a little excusable, if (in a matter allow’d by all to be obscure enough) a man so ignorant of the Laws as I am, should happen to be as much in the wrong as many others.

BUT, to begin with the several interpretations of this clause : Some will have it understood, that it gives a right to the judicial power of the House of Lords, to judge any other facts Treason which they shall think of such ill consequence to the publick, as to deserve that name, and the punishment belongiug to it. For, they say by the word (Parliament) in matters of judicatory, is always meant the House of Lords only ; because the other House has nothing to do with things of that nature, unless to accuse and bring offenders before the Lords to be tried. And as to the King’s being mention’d in the clause ; they pretend that ’tis only according to the form in all courts of judicature, where the King is always supposed to be virtually present ; especially in that supreme Court, at the upper end of which his throne is ever under a canopy, and where he comes himself on all solemn occasions.

OTHERS are of opinion, That at this time when such care was taken to limit treasons, and retrench so many as were before at the common Law, it could not be the meaning of that cautious Parliament, in the same act of security to the subjects, to set up an arbitrary power, tho’ in the
 highest

highest Court, of making new treasons as often as the Judges should bring it before them : And therefore they conclude, since these words (the King and his Parliament) are in their plain signification (an Act of Parliament) and since the reason also appears to be on that side, because an Act for limitation of treasons would hardly establish an unlimited power to declare new ones ; that it ought to be thus understood, *viz.* That since there may happen crimes of so dangerous a nature, as to appear before the Judges of equal guilt with those which are mention'd in this Act ; yet they are here strictly forbid to meddle with them. So this clause is an additional caution for the security of the subject, in restraining those who are but too apt to make inferences of severity, in flattery to that Government from which they expect advancement. But, at the same time, *in terrorem*, all is refer'd to a Parliament (King, Lords, and Commons) who, for extraordinary crimes against the publick good, may provide as unusual punishments, by that arbitrary power which is safely entrusted no where else.

THESE two opinions have been argued very much of late years since the Earl of STRAFFORD's business ; and they who maintain them, have yet agreed in this ; that by that clause of King EDWARD, whatever case shall be determin'd either in the Lords house (according to one opinion) or by an Act of Parliament (according to the other) that determination shall be a new settlement of the Law for the future ; and that crime must be judg'd treason in *Westminster-hall* for ever after, by force of this statute of EDWARD the Third : And therefore (say they) to avoid that inconvenience of increasing the number of treasons, that Act against the Earl of STRAFFORD expressly

forbids it to go farther, or be a precedent to inferior Courts ; without which caution, it must have been now a settled treason for any man to say and do those things that were prov'd against that Earl ; some of which are of so ambiguous a nature, that so prudent a Parliament was very much divided in the interpretation of them ; and therefore universally agreed, that such a dubious case should never be subject to the determination of common Judges and Jury.

I KNOW very well, at that time, (as 'tis usual in Parliament debates) and often since, it has been urg'd as a reproach to that proceeding against my Lord STRAFFORD, that even in the act which destroy'd him, yet care is taken against any such severity for the future.

BUT that is a perfect mistake in some, and a meer fallacy in others ; for the care of that Parliament for the future, in the cases of others, is only as I have express'd it above, for fear the ordinary Courts below should follow, and perhaps mistake the precedent, according to this clause of EDWARD the Third : And not in the least to confine a future Parliament (which is impossible) or to censure themselves as doing a thing then, which even they who did it thought it too severe ever to be done again : For either of those intentions, of confining a future Parliament, or of censuring themselves, is such a weakness, as not only the Three Estates of a Nation, but no three men in it are possibly to be imagin'd capable of. Whereas it was very wise and just in them to consider that, altho' by the necessity of the times and iniquity of those arbitrary designs in which my Lord of STRAFFORD was so very able an instrument, it was thought just and fit to destroy one man, in order to

to save the whole ; yet such a case was much too nice for inferior Judges to determine, or imitate them in ; and therefore they restrain'd them by that particular clause in the Bill against my Lord of STRAFFORD, which has made so much noise in the world ; but without which, it is very probable the Judges would have made as much mischief.

BESIDES these two opinions of that clause in the Act of 25 EDWARD III, there is another interpretation of it ; which supposes, that it neither meant there should be an Act of Parliament to declare a new treason, nor that one House of Parliament alone should be trusted with such an arbitrary power ; but that by the word (Parliament) is to be understood the Two Houses together, which constitute it ; with whom the King too is suppos'd to be virtually present, who yet have not power in themselves alone to declare a new treason, without authority given them by this clause. Whereas it was wholly unnecessary, in case an Act of Parliament was meant ; because a King, Lords, and Commons (who must all join to pass an Act) have need of no such clause either to empower or defend them.

THO' all these three opinions have been countenanc'd by very able men, I hope it will be no arrogance to make objections to them all. However, I shall have two of them still on my side, while I am disputing against the third.

THE first opinion was that of the House of Lords only being meant in this clause, with which I must needs differ, tho' unwillingly, for these reasons.

FIRST, Because so great and arbitrary a power as this, can never be suppos'd given by Three Estates to only one of them ; by which the lives
and

and fortunes of all the subjects in *England* would be at the disposal of the Peers.

SECONDLY; Because in those lesser cases of Appeals from *Chancery*, and Writs of Error, where only money is concern'd; yet it may be observ'd, that even there an arbitrary decision of the Lords is submitted to, only that it may be taken from the Chancellor and the Judges: And indeed by setting up an assembly to which we may in those cases appeal, the subjects are not expos'd, but rather secur'd against too much power in the *Chancery*, and in other Courts below.

THIRDLY, 'Tho' it must be confess'd, that by the word (Parliament) is sometimes meant only the House of Lords; as when causes are said to be brought into Parliament, or the like; yet that is only because the other House has nothing to do in such matters, and therefore it needs no explanation: and 'tis the same when we speak of Elections to Parliament, where the House of Commons alone must needs be understood, because there are no Elections into the other House. But how is it possible that in a new Law, and of the greatest importance imaginable, and for the quiet settlement of all people's minds for the future, it should be meant of one House only, and yet express'd ambiguously, or rather indeed plainly to the contrary, by the word (Parliament), which is an assembly necessarily compos'd of two Houses?

I CAN imagine no reply will be made to this, unless it could be pretended that in the time when this Act was made, the word (Parliament) always signified the House of Lords only; even just as the word (Peers) does now: But it is manifestly the contrary in all the histories and records of that age.

THE

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THE *Second* opinion was, That by these words (the Judges shall tarry till the cause be shew'd and declar'd before the King and his Parliament) it is intended there should be a new Act of Parliament in any such case, before the party be condemn'd; and after that, the Judges and Juries shall find the same fact Treason ever after.

Now to this I have these objections.

1st, THERE is nothing in these words importing any obligation on the Judges after the case hath once been stated, and brought into Parliament; they are only directed to stay proceedings, and to bring it hither.

AND *2^{dly}*, If the Judges had been so oblig'd, yet that had been a good argument against our interpreting it to be meant of an Act of Parliament, and so one part of this opinion destroys the other: For, to what purpose should a Parliament in EDWARD the Third's time authorise, or direct all future Parliaments? 'Tis authorising, to declare that what those Parliaments enact, shall be Law; and it is directing, to say, That whenever such Law shall pass, inferior Courts should act ever after by the same measure. Whereas certainly the prudence of a present Parliament is likely to judge better of what new power should be then given the Judges, than one in EDWARD the Third's time, so many hundred years before any such new crime was committed.

THE other interpretation of this clause was, That both Houses were meant by the word (Parliament) for, say they, it was needless to authorise King, Lords, and Commons, who have always an unlimited power; and it had been giving too great an authority to one House only, *viz.* the House of Lords; and therefore the meaning must needs be, that a Parliament compos'd of
both

both Houses should interpret all such cases which are too hard for the Judges, and not express'd in this Law plainly enough for them to presume to meddle with it.

Now this perhaps would be a plausible interpretation, if the words had not been (before the King and his Parliament.) For, tho' to the first opinion of its being meant of the House of Lords only, the mentioning a King is no objection; because his name is always used in a Court of Judicature, where he is supposed to be virtually present; and because *Westminster-Hall* itself where the Judges sat was antiently a part of that house where the King liv'd: Yet to those who take it to be meant of both Houses, it is a very good objection; because there is no colour of reason for the King's being so named in the clause, if the two Houses are enabled by it to declare new treasons without him, and perhaps even against his opinion.

THE two Houses of Parliament have certainly a very great authority as well as credit in this nation; and whatever they concur in, will bear such a weight along with it, as to break through almost any opposition. But yet there are bounds set even to the Royal Prerogative, and to the two Houses also; by which no alteration is allow'd to be made by them alone in any Law, much less in this the most important of all our Laws. An Act too sacred to be changed by any power less than omnipotent; I mean the Legislature, consisting of King, Lords, and Commons joined together.

BUT now my greatest Task begins, and I find it much easier to make objections, than to establish any thing that shall be liable to none. However, if I went no farther in a matter of so much difficulty, it may be of some use to expose all erroneous

roneous interpretations ; since any positive mistake of this clause is fatal, and a thousand times more dangerous than a modest doubtfulness under so great an uncertainty.

YET because it may be of some little use to myself, and cannot in the least be prejudicial to others ; I am resolv'd to guess a little what the meaning of this oraculous clause should be, which runs in these words (“ And because that many
“ other like cases of Treason may happen in time
“ to come, which a man cannot think nor declare at this present time ; it is accorded,
“ That if any other case, supposed Treason,
“ which is not above specify'd, doth happen before any Justices, the Justices shall tarry without going to judgment of the Treason, 'till
“ the cause be shew'd and declared before the
“ King and his Parliament, whether it ought to
“ be judg'd Treason or other Felony.”)

FIRST then, it is agreed by all Lawyers, that one of the best ways of finding out the meaning of an obscure Law, is examining well the Preamble to it, which in this is very short, as well as the Act itself, and runs in these words, (“ Whereas divers opinions have been before this
“ time, in what case Treason shall be said, and
“ in what not ; the King, at the request of the
“ Lords and of the Commons, hath made a declaration in the manner as hereafter followeth.”) By which it appears plainly, that a wise Parliament, and a good King as wise also as themselves, intended to put an end to all uncertainty in matters of Treason ; than which nothing can be more dangerous to a People's quiet, and consequently to a King's. This uncertainty was partly for want of a Statute-Law ; the Common-Law being made up of
of

of Precedents only, some good, and some ill ; and partly from the different tempers, or occasions of Princes, with which the Judges are always too apt to comply.

BUT it had been directly contrary to so good a design, if they had made this clause in the sense that most understand it, which is this ; That if a poor man (just cautious enough to avoid all the Treasons in this Act, and yet perhaps not so prudent as he should be) falls into some unusual fault, he shall bear the heaviest of punishments by virtue of a Law which he could never understand, because the crime must be declared after his fact is committed.

SECONDLY, What appears in nature more opposite to a Law of indulgence and security (as this certainly is, notwithstanding its being penal) than to put all our lives and fortunes into the arbitrary power either of the Lords, or Lords and Commons together ?

I ALLOW that, if the King's consent be added to that of both Houses, all those three Estates in conjunction ought to be arbitrary : And nobody has a right to complain of the legislative power, in which himself has a share.

BUT, tho' that interpretation of the clause is the most consistent with this Preamble of safety to the subjects, who can be in no danger of injustice from the legislative power, tho' never so arbitrary : Yet 'tis wholly inconsistent with reason, that a Parliament in EDWARD the Third's reign should intend to advise all future Parliaments ; by declaring that some like cases may happen in their time, and deserve their passing a new Law about it. For advice it can only be, since it would have been equally unnecessary and absurd, for one

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one Parliament to have pretended to give authority to another.

WHAT then should be the meaning of this clause, about which our little world has made such a bustle ?

IN my humble opinion, no more than this.

A WISE King and Parliament foresaw, that a limitation of Treasons was so great an indulgence, as possibly to be made ill use of by some who did not deserve it ; and yet, to their eternal honour, they prefer'd a general ease and quiet, even to that and all other considerations. But to keep busy people the more in awe, who would escape by the favour of this Act from any condemnation of Treason, they hung out a flaming sword over their heads in this clause ; which in truth is only minatory, and nothing else. That so the Judges being commanded to tarry, and not to give any sentence in enormous cases (which after this Law, could not be so severe as perhaps some cases might deserve) ill persons might be the more apprehensive of a Parliament's heavier and more arbitrary punishment, whenever they did any unusual crime to provoke it. For that method would have been against the rules of justice, in trying a criminal twice for the same offence, unless they had by this clause oblig'd the Judges to tarry, and suspend the cause till the sitting of a Parliament.

By which last words it may be observ'd also, that frequency of Parliaments was a thing of course in those times, as much almost as the four Terms are now for affairs of a more private nature.

BUT since I understand this clause to be only Minatory, in order to deter and not to punish offenders ; it will be objected, that if this opinion were

were right, there had been no occasion for all that caution, which I myself had just now observ'd in the Bill against my Lord of STRAFFORD.

I MUST therefore take notice of an error so very general, that I am almost afraid to encounter it with my single opinion.

'TIS commonly believed that by this clause in the Act of the 25th of EDWARD III, the Judges are empower'd to hold and declare in their courts to be Treason, whatsoever crimes shall be at any time judg'd Treason in Parliament. As for example, JOHN KERBY a mercer and JOHN ALGORE a grocer of the city of *London*, in the time of RICHARD II, had kill'd JOHN IMPERIAL, a publick Minister from the State of *Genoa*; and the Parliament happening to be sitting, pass'd an Act 3 RICHARD II. that they should be attainted of High-Treason in the *King's-Bench*; and they were executed accordingly. It was said, that all Judges after this were oblig'd to hold for Treason the killing any foreign Minister in the same manner, notwithstanding it is none of those crimes recited in the Act of 25 EDWARD III. And the only reason they gave for this opinion is the clause aforementioned, which therefore I will repeat again; (“ And because
“ that many other like cases of Treason may
“ happen in time to come, which a man cannot
“ think nor declare at this present time; it is accorded,
“ That if any other case, supposed
“ Treason, which is not above specified, doth
“ happen before any Justices, the Justices shall
“ tarry without any going to judgment of the
“ Treason, till the cause be shew'd and declar'd
“ before the King and his Parliament, whether
“ it ought to be judg'd Treason or other Felony.”)

Now

Now I believe no man in the world, unprejudiced with a former opinion, will understand these words otherwise than thus, That, however enormous the cases shall happen to be, the Judges shall never go beyond the bare letter of this Law, but leave all to the safer judgment of Parliament.

AND if a Parliament upon an extraordinary occasion, as that of the *Genoa* Embassador, shall in their great prudence inflict any unusual punishment; by what colour of reason should that be construed, as if they would have all the ordinary Judges hereafter do the same thing, without tarrying for their judgment?

ONE Parliament's proceeding is the best sort of precedent for another: But that it should be an example for inferiour Courts, is as preposterous and dangerous, as if a Schoolmaster should imitate a General, and instead of whipping a scholar, should put him to death by a general council of school-boys.

BESIDES, the very meaning of the clause is only to restrain the forwardness of inferiour courts; and yet this absurd interpretation enlarges their authority; by which it is not hard to guess how it comes to be encourag'd.

ADD to this also, that supposing it were fit to enlarge their power of judging any new offence, why should not the same Parliament which first determines that offence, determine also what new power the Judges should have concerning it? whereas by their interpretation it must be understood, as if a Parliament in EDWARD the Third's time undertook to judge of new cases that might happen in ours, and increased the jurisdiction of future Judges in all those yet unknown cases.

UPON this vulgar error, the Parliament in my Lord of STRAFFORD's case, (being composed of some members infected with it, and of others who found it necessary to satisfy those members as well as the rest of the world in their fears about it) *ex abundanti cautela*, added this clause in that act against the Earl of STRAFFORD. ("Provided that no Judge or Judges, Justice or Justices whatsoever, shall adjudge or interpret any Act or Thing to be Treason, in any other manner than he or they, should, or ought to have done before the making of this Act, and as if this Act had never been or made.")

THIS was so prudent a caution in that time of presumptuous Judges, (in imitation of the like wisdom express'd in an Act of the first of Queen MARY) that it ought not to be blam'd: tho' it has accidentally confirm'd many in their mistake about the Judges power, after that Act was pass'd, if this Proviso (last repeated) had not prevented it.

BUT certainly, if the Act of EDWARD the Third placed no such power in the Judges; this clause against any such power, brought in for the greater caution, is far from giving a new interpretation to that Law, or any such addition; especially so dangerous a one as this would be.

IT is not altogether foreign to this matter, if I observe another very common mistake about that Bill against my Lord of STRAFFORD. Abundance of people, especially the old *Cavaliers*, understand this Proviso last recited as a reflection on the Bill itself; and as if his case was so very hard even in the opinion of the Parliament itself, that it was ordered by this clause to be no precedent for the future.

THIS

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THIS is a ridiculous error in many respects : First, Because doing a thing in one Parliament, and ordering it to be no precedent to another, is an errant bull ; since the very doing it, is, and must be a precedent at the same time 'tis ordered that it shall be none. Secondly, It would have been an unparallell'd open injustice, to put one man to death for such a crime, as even in the opinion of those who punish'd him, was not great enough to be capital in any other person, or at any other time. And it will not weaken this argument to say, That it was an unjust cruel Act, and therefore a good many dissented from it : For those dissenting members themselves could not be so uncharitable as to imagine all the members of both Houses who pass'd the Bill, not only so base and bloody as to be all the while against it in their consciences, but so foolish also as to own it in the very Bill itself. And therefore nothing can be plainer than that 'tis only a gross mistake among ignorant people, to think they meant it in that manner.

ACCORDINGLY, that Act of CHARLES II, which has revers'd this Bill of Attainder, and in the Preamble recited every thing imaginable in favour of that Earl, yet takes no notice of this clause, which had more discredited the Bill than all the rest, if it could have been interpreted in that manner.

THE last clause in the Bill is about Highway-men, who had formerly been condemn'd for Traitors, only to invest the Crown with their forfeited estates. Here it is most justly provided, that hereafter they shall only suffer as felons, or trespassers, according to the known Laws in those cases ; and all such ill-gotten estates are again restored by the Crown. Which is another re-

markable instance of the benign intention of those wise Legislators, shining almost in every word of this famous Law.

I WOULD not have communicated these rambling thoughts to any but a friend ; nor to yourself neither ; if, among the several misinterpretations upon my resigning one great Employment, and refusing a greater, you had not suspected me of a little laziness ; from which I hope this way of employing my leisure, may be some vindication ; and I wish it does not prove a much greater, by shewing I needed no other reason besides my disability, for not accepting the highest Post in a profession I was never bred to ; an honour too much, to think any man fit for, except a Lawyer.

A
F E A S T
OF THE
G O D S.

Written in the Year 1708.

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A
F E A S T
O F T H E
G O D S.

AS sensible Men, of all degrees, shew their prudence, not only in rightly managing their affairs, but also in seeking out for themselves some sort of Pleasures and Diversions ; finding by Experience, that our Minds, no less than our Bodies, require a Relaxation, in order to be the more active and vigorous afterwards : So, even the Gods themselves, tho' far above the Frailties of poor Mortals, yet are reported by HOMER, and all the Poets of old, sometimes to suspend their graver Considerations, and, in plain *English*, take a Cup of *Nectar* together.

ONE of these merry Meetings was appointed t'other day by JUPITER, who sent MERCURY (from whom I receiv'd the following Account) to invite the whole Set of Gods and Goddesses to that illustrious Assembly.

AFTER they had fill'd their bellies with *Ambrosia*, they began to talk a little freely of all their several sorts of Worlds, some of which we

ignorant Men call Planets, and fancy them made only for us to gaze on.

WHEN they had rambled over many of the more considerable Globes, they fell upon this of ours at last ; but finding in it more occasion for their Anger than their Mirth, were e'en just going to annihilate it (which to the Gods is no more than breaking a Glass among Good-fellows, when they find it dirty) if MOMUS had not burst out into a sudden Fit of Laughter at a certain Creature in it call'd Man ; who (he undertook) should be a Subject able to furnish Sport enough for the whole Feast, if they would but, for once, connive at his Faults, and only expose his Follies.

VENUS a little blush'd at this, for the sake (as it was guess'd) of ADONIS, ANCHISES, and half a hundred more Gallants of hers : Then pertly reprehended MOMUS, for making so bold with a Creature that was ever accounted the very Image of the Gods ; and for the sake of some of which, only to please his Fancy, Almighty JUPITER had vouchsaf'd to transform himself into a mortal shape. But VULCAN bid her be silent for Shame, telling them he saw no such great difference between Creatures of two Legs, and those of four, except in Vanity ; in which the first sort did so much abound, as presumptuously to arrogate a Preheminence above all their Brethren, nay, prophanely pretend to resemble the very Deities themselves. They all smiled at the jealous Spite of VULCAN, whispering, that there was not much Presumption in affecting to be like his Godship.

JUPITER, knowing himself censur'd for not spending a Thunderbolt or two upon such a Race of presumptuous Animals, said, MOMUS was in the right, in thinking Mankind fitter to be scorn'd
than

than punish'd for so ridiculous a Pride, especially since none in that divine Assembly had ever thought it worth their while, to inform them better.

MOMUS, thus applauded by Jove, ventur'd at deriding the Gods themselves a little, for suffering the very worst of Men sometimes to rule over the very best, in their name, and as their Vice-gerents: Nay, APOLLO ask'd permission, (by way of jesting,) to make them Prophets too, as well as Princes; because he doubted some of them might hardly be able to speak Sense, without the help of Inspiration.

HOWEVER, they admitted of Exceptions to this general Observation about Princes; and especially for the Female Sex: First, because you must know the Gods are extreme well-bred; and next, you may be sure the old merry Saying would not fail to take, at such a jovial Meeting, *That of, Queens being still advis'd by Men, while Kings are often influenc'd by Women.*

THE Gods being now grown a little tipsy, laugh'd aloud at every thing that MOMUS said, though his Jest, (as I fear you will find,) did not always deserve it.

YET he took notice rightly enough of a certain great and politick * Prince, whose Vanity so much outweighs his Wisdom, that, instead of cajoling a proud Nation to change their Master, he daily affronts them by some imperious Novelty or other; either about changing their Garb or Government: for want of considering, that Pride had rather be punish'd than slighted.

ANOTHER † Prince, lately deceas'd in exile, was censur'd also (yet with great compassion,

* Lewis XIV.

† James II.

amidst

amidst all their mirth) because, tho' he not only meant to govern well, but had Talents capable of it; yet, notwithstanding all that, he lost three Kingdoms, meerly for want of being wisely principled in his youth; and instructed, that Kings should indeed reverence the Gods, and appear decently devout, but never violently zealous for any thing besides Justice, and the publick Good: which Virtue alone (they said) without other Religion, is sufficient to make them Heroes on earth, and advance them afterwards to be Demi-Gods in Heaven.

ALL the Gods admir'd that odd Mixture, of which his * Successor was compos'd; so very lazy, heavy, and easily impos'd on by Favourites; and yet so very ambitious and enterprising; which they attributed to the different Characters of his Ancestors; who, on his Mother's side, were *only* Sovereigns (HENRY IV. of *France* excepted) but, on his Father's, such as *deserved* to be so.

YET JUPITER himself shew'd great esteem of him; but was suspected a little of some partiality, on account of his own proceedings with old Father SATURN. He was observed also to kiss GANYMEDE all the while they were talking of this Prince, which made the Gods whisper to one another a little maliciously.

THERE was a certain † King in a corner, which they had also a fling at, for having made too bold with a Lunatick Brother; and for suffering his Ministers afterwards to make too bold with himself; so that neither his Subjects, nor Allies, were much the better for his good Intentions. But as to his brother, MOMUS himself

* William III.

† King of Portugal.

excus'd

excus'd him, saying all things should be judg'd by Comparison, desiring them to look about the world, and see how little Nearness of Blood was consider'd. Upon being ask'd, if he meant any particular person, he desir'd to be excus'd for having drank a Cup of *Nectar* too much ; then smiling said, he wish'd that Prince so well, he would advise him to do like the Eastern Monarchs, and take some good Physician for one of his Ministers.

THERE was a * northern Prince, whom the Gods themselves hardly knew what to make of ; something humourfome, very brave, mighty revengeful, indefatigable, and violently ambitious ; some of the main Ingredients that make a Hero. But, tho' we Mortals are counted foolish, who judge by Success ; yet the very Gods were forc'd to do it in this Case, and suspend their Judgment of this Prince a while, asham'd to be so puzzled by a Youth of Four and Twenty.

THEY perceiv'd another † King hard by, in the same Quarter, much concern'd for the Loss of a ‡ Brother, whom many Years ago he had dispos'd of extremely well ; yet no body since ever heard one word of him. MOMUS, laughing said, the good Prince was not quite dead, tho' forc'd to breathe hard to prevent being buried because no body perceived any other sign of Life in him. Some of the Gods smil'd, and said, it would be well for the quiet of Mankind, if all Princes were as dull and insignificant.

ANOTHER || King would scarce have been taken notice of, if he had not, one morning, taken that Title for his Morning's draught, and

* King of Sweden.

† King of Denmark.

‡ Prince George of Denmark.

|| King of Prussia.

declared

declared himself to be one. But the Gods said, for his excuse, that there was more plain dealing in that proceeding than in all the rest of that Rank, who pretend to derive theirs, either from the Gods, or Approbation of the People; whereas neither in reality are the least guilty of the matter.

THIS honest Prince (said MOMUS) went more plainly to work; and because no body else cared for him enough to do it, even took a good Resolution, and set up himself. MARS frown'd, and said, it was of ill example, and against the custom of Princes; whose additional new Honours and Titles are ever wont to arise from Wars and Conquest, out of the Blood and Treasure of their Subjects.

BUT JUPITER told him he was a blustering God, to find fault with the only good Circumstance of so vain an Action; which yet in time would make his mischievous Godship amends, by setting agog all the little Princes both of *Italy* and *Germany*, whose mouths now water at the same Dignity, and, to obtain it, will never let *Europe* be quiet.

Now came into play an odd Animal, which MOMUS said was call'd an Emperor *, just as a little *Indian* Bird is call'd a Pope, only because there grows a high Topping upon his head. Some said he was above all Kings, only as their Hats are; and that he begg'd every body's assistance, while he would not help himself. Some of the Gods said, they very often indeed vouchsafed to help poor Mortals who cannot, but never such who will not help themselves. However the Gods admired the odd Zeal of those who devout-

* *Leopold* Emperor of *Germany*.

ly preserve their Religion in one Country, and yet at the same time assist a Prince who persecutes the same Religion in another.

UPON this occasion, JUPITER observ'd, how silly Mortals presume to blame Providence for the Weakness, or Wickedness of hereditary Princes, while yet they are not much happier under those whom they elect themselves. This gave MOMUS an opportunity of Raillery; the double Pretensions to Crowns, so much in fashion now-a-days, arising most commonly from the People's setting up new Princes, because they always fancy those best with whom they are least acquainted.

SOME mention at last was made of a certain * People remarkable for industry, and for having no one good Quality besides; whom MOMUS yet defended maliciously enough, by shewing the great influence they have over a great and rich Nation, that has the folly to be impos'd on by them both at home and abroad, tho' the dullest Creatures alive.

THE Affairs of *Italy* were in too melancholy a posture for such a Feast of Jollity; and the Gods in all their mirth, were yet incapable of mocking at † two Princes of one House in that Country, who make so great a figure there.

ON the contrary, they all declar'd unanimously, that one of them as much outshin'd all the *Monarchs* of this Age, as the other excell'd the *Generals*; for which just Encomium, not only MARS, but MINERVA also, in just gratitude, rose up, and made obeisance to that august Assembly.

* The *Dutch*.
Prince *Eugene* of *Savoy*.

† The Duke of *Savoy*, and

T W O

DIALOGUES.

PLAY LOGUES

A
D I A L O G U E

B E T W E E N

Augustus Cæsar,

A N D

Cardinal RICHELIEU.

Aug. **W**HAT's the meaning of all this ceremony? Can wise men turn fops after they are dead?

R. SURE, 'tis impossible to pay too much respect to the great AUGUSTUS.

Aug. I WAS so cloy'd with it in the other world, that I cannot endure it yet, tho' it be so long ago; and besides, among equals, as we are all here, what can be more preposterous?

R. INDEED, if it were to your rank, you would have reason to say so; but I was never guilty of much submission that way.

Aug. No: Your own King LEWIS XIII. will clear you of that fault.

VOL. II.

L

R.

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R. I CONFESS I despis'd him always for his slothfulness and incapacity ; and from the same cause proceeds all my reverence to you : for no man ever knew so well how to satisfy himself, and the world too, at the same time.

Aug. I DID make indeed a pretty good figure, and truly you have made no ill one : Come, let us sit down together under these shades.

R. NOT *to be alive again* : What ! sit cheek by jole with the wise, the happy AUGUSTUS ! the perfection of prudence, the pattern of Princes, and admiration of all the world for these seventeen hundred years !

Aug. SURE you think you are wheedling your own LEWIS still. What titles are here to no manner of purpose ? What have I done to deserve all these fulsome compliments ?

R. WHAT have you not done ? Is it nothing to get the government of the whole world into your hands before you were twenty years old, and make it happy under that government, till you died at fourscore ? But yet, to shew you I mean no compliments, I have one objection to you.

Aug. I THOUGHT at last the haughty Cardinal RICHELIEU would have some exception to any body that was above him.

R. AND you to any body that would not let you be so.

Aug. I FIND we know one another as well as if we had liv'd in the same age.

R. BUT we agree a little better : After all, I really admire you of all the Princes that ever reign'd. But yet——

Aug. BUT what ?

R. SHALL I speak freely ?

Aug. ON condition I may do the same.

R.

R. AGREED. Then with your leave I must tell you, the world has had just cause to accuse you of two the greatest crimes imaginable, ingratitude and cruelty ; and tho' I was myself inclined to the last, yet when joined with the first, I, and all mankind abhor it.

Aug. Two heavy faults indeed ; and if guilty, all the greatness I had, was not worth the buying it at so dear a rate.

R. PERHAPS you think so now indeed.

Aug. WELL, 'tis easy to guess what you mean ; but you little imagine how well I can clear myself.

R. INDEED I cannot ; since, with reverence be it so spoken, for all your mighty fame, your word will not pass one jot in this matter.

Aug. YES it shall, as I will order it.

R. How so ? Is it enough for a criminal to deny his crime ?

Aug. YES, if he confesses enough besides to condemn him ; I will discover a thousand follies (which among us politicians are the faults we are most ashamed of) rather than lie under this aspersion any longer. But I will make one condition.

R. WHAT ?

Aug. THAT you will confess as ingenuously how you came by all your greatness ; for among friends, you and I know 'tis not to be gotten honestly.

R. WELL, well, if it may go no farther.

Aug. NOT to the other world, you may be sure.

R. You have given me so much curiosity and impatience to know your true Story, that in return, I will tell you mine more sincerely than ever I did to my Confessor.

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Aug. OR else I should not be much the wiser : For I suppose, that christian trick of getting out secrets, did not pass on you. I'll begin then. You must know, the world has been mistaken in me throughout ; but 'tis no wonder, for the very age I liv'd in, never knew me.

R. I THOUGHT AUGUSTUS CÆSAR had been no such obscure person.

Aug. OR else I had never been so famous. The *Romans*, as knowing as they were, never understood me right ; they did me much honour on one hand, and as much wrong on the other. They all thought me so wise, to mind nothing but my interest ; and so wicked as to sacrifice all things in nature to it, even those who had most oblig'd me.

R. WHY, between friends, that is counted no such great fault among us politicians.

Aug. IT may be then, you will count it my folly, not to be ill-natur'd enough.

R. I AM not very apt to suspect you of that fault. But pray go on.

Aug. THE first part of my life is famous for my being too hard for all the world before I was scarce a man ; and infamous for yielding up CICE-RO to MARK ANTONY.

R. RIGHT : These are the two things that establish your character of being very wise, and very ungrateful.

Aug. I REALLY was neither. CICE-RO did all for me in the gaining that power, which AGRIP-PA and MECENAS managed so well afterwards.

R. IN that you confess all your obligations to CICE-RO ; and truly you return'd them very well ; what do you call ingratitude, if this be not so ?

Aug. NOTHING less, as you shall hear presently. I was a raw young heir to the greatest
man

man that ever was ; and all his army join'd with his party to buoy me up, almost whether I would or no.

R. 'Twas a sad thing, really, to be so ravish'd.

Aug. For all your raillery, it might have proved so, if CICERO had not wanted some-body to set up against ANTONY.

R. To be capable only of being rival to so great a man, was sufficient proof of your ability.

Aug. Not at all, considering the extravagant imprudence of my enemy, and the profound policy of my friend ; who having once set up my reputation, AGRIPPA and MECENAS made it their whole business to improve it.

R. WERE they so good Ministers ?

Aug. THE ablest, I believe, that ever Prince had, and almost just contrary in every thing to those you have known in later ages.

R. TRULY, that is commendation enough ; but still 'tis a sign of your great prudence, to have chosen your Ministers so well, and continued constant to them so wisely.

Aug. WILL you have the truth of it ? I was all along in love with MECENAS's wife ; and AGRIPPA married my daughter.

R. BUT it was no such easy matter, I believe, to make them agree always, in order to your greatness.

Aug. IT was for their own too ; for they having different talents, one govern'd all the military affairs, and the other the civil ; so that being very wise men, they never clash'd together like your petty States-men of late days, who think of nothing but ruining one another.

R. BUT still you sat at the helm, and govern'd all.

Aug. YES, but it was so calm most commonly, that I might have slept and done it; for all those good regulations in *Rome* and elsewhere, were only the projects of those admirable Counsellors.

R. 'Tis a more difficult thing than you make it to have always an able Council.

Aug. NOT if they happen well at first, and live a long time afterwards.

R. YES, to maintain them in power against all their envious enemies.

Aug. IT was they maintain'd me so. And now I have for truth's sake debased myself so much in your esteem; 'tis time I should a little recover it again, in regard to the Ingratitude you have accused me of; for 'tis only on that account I have confessed all this so freely.

R. YOU have own'd so much against yourself hitherto, that I am bound to believe now whatever you say.

Aug. THUS it was then; CICERO, with all his praises, never meant we well; and I once intercepted a letter of his, wherein he declared, I was the fittest person of all *Rome*, to be raised, to be advanced, and then at last to be destroyed.

R. So what he only said against you, you did against him; 'tis a little hard to be taken at one's word so exactly.

Aug. YOU run on in a mistake; for notwithstanding all this, he had made me so fond of him by his flatteries, that I absolutely refus'd to sign the proscription while his name was there.

R. YOU would make me believe that he is yet alive, if I did not see him here every day shaking his head (which you cut off) at your going by him so confidently.

Aug.

Aug. HE judges, as all *Rome* did, that I conniv'd at his death ; when all the while I had like to have lost the world for his sake, as *ANTONY* did afterwards for *CLEOPATRA*'s.

R. YOU will tell me presently you were as much in love with him, as he was with her.

Aug. *ANTONY* over-reach'd me in the matter, by giving me all the assurances imaginable that he would spare him for my sake, if I would set him down in the roll for his : And so at once cunningly satisfied his revenge, and blacken'd me to all posterity. But I think I was even with him.

R. WAS this your quarrel ? I thought it was about your Sister, Why did not you let the world know this story, to justify yourself ?

Aug. I WAS really ashamed of being us'd so like a child ; and my friends told me it would never be believ'd, since *LEPIDUS* (who was the only person present) durst not disoblige *MARK ANTONY* with declaring the truth ; for which I was reveng'd of him also.

R. THEN, instead of being so base as to sacrifice your best friend to your ambition, it seems you fought afterwards more to revenge his death, than your Sister's injuries.

Aug. JUST so : And *ANTONY* will own all this, for he laughs at me still for it.

R. YOU may give such a loser leave to laugh a little. And does *LEPIDUS* laugh too ? If they do, they are the merriest Ghosts in *Elysium*, for methinks they have no such great cause.

Aug. NO : *LEPIDUS* cries still for the loss of his Army, which left him for me, no-body knows why.

R. EXCEPT your self ; who I suppose had laid the business so before-hand.

Aug. WHY, there 'tis : Every thing which succeeds, is attributed to prudence. But believe

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me, there is a great deal more of luck than skill, in our game of policy ; and the worst players sometimes have the better success.

R. So it seems by you ; I will never depend on History again.

Aug. 'Tis not so much the fault of History, as your false comments upon it.

R. TRUE : For when once a prepossession is over, how one's eyes are open'd ! I begin now to recollect a thousand things, which might have before convinc'd me of your being no such SOLOMON. Did you not marry a woman while she was big with child by another man yet alive ?

Aug. I CONFESS it was an odd way of adopting a child into my family : But I lov'd her belly, big as it was, so well, that I could not endure any body else should have any thing more to do with it, tho' it were but to bring her to bed.

R. THEN to bemoan yourself in the senate-house, for your Daughter's playing the whore.

Aug. MECENAS was dead, or else I had never done so foolish a thing. I remember as well as if it were but yesterday, how the very gravest Senators sneer'd at me to my very face.

R. THEN, to be so uxoriously led by the nose all your life.

Aug. NOT altogether so neither ; it was rather by another part ; for LIVIA's temper and great prudence ingag'd me almost always to be of the same mind with her, which the malicious world miscall'd being govern'd by her.

R. You were then ungrateful to her ; for you grudg'd her the harmless pleasure of seeing young fellows run naked about the streets, till she wheedled you to believe they were no more regarded by her than so many statues.

Aug. THAT was enough too ; and, on my conscience, she spoke equivocally : for now I think on't, she lov'd statues extremely well, and had a great collection.

R. OH, I remember now : MECENAS used you at a fine rate, when in a little note he call'd you *Murderer*, and bid you come down from the seat of judgment, where I suppose you were doing some barbarous injustice.

Aug. HAVE you heard that too ? Why the truth of it is, a criminal there had put me into a passion, a little unbeseeming a Judge ; which as soon as ever that note had made me sensible of, I left the trial immediately, for fear of doing injustice in my anger ; which, by the way, is some proof of my not being so ill-natur'd, as I am thought to be.

R. No, nor so very prudent neither, to be in passion on those occasions. But, *Murderer*, that was a little familiar.

Aug. WELL, but *Cuckhold*, that excuses all things : besides, you may see by that action what care he took of my reputation.

R. BUT above all the rest ; your making TRIBERIUS your successor rather than one of your own family, is, I confess, something so extraordinary, that when I admir'd you most, I could not excuse it.

Aug. NEITHER can I do it now. What would you have more ? I confess myself impos'd on all my life ; most commonly well, but at my death so ill, that I am yet ashamed of it.

A
 DIALOGUE
 BETWEEN
 MAHOMET,
 AND THE
 Duke of GUISE.

M. COME let us sit down here, and laugh a little together at all those tricks you and I have put upon the world.

G. WITH all my heart: What better use could we have made of it? Is mankind fit for any thing else but to be coufened?

M. YET you must confess that my way is the more noble, and had something of the sublime in it; you did your business by nothing but meer cringeing.

G. You are mistaken: There goes more to popularity than that comes to; and yet the cringeing you speak of, when 'tis of the Mind, is no such easy matter.

M.

M. NOT so lofty a one as yours, perhaps ; low stooping makes a tall man's back ake.

G. YOU are merry, Sir, and therefore I suppose will not be loth to confess some of your noble tricks, as you call them.

M. ON condition you tell yours.

G. AGREED, and pray begin : Mine was but lay-difsembling, which ought to give place to divine-hypocrisy.

M. YOU have heard of my Pigeon, I warrant.

G. YES, and of your Owls too : Could such a gross thing pass among them ?

M. AS easily as a Creed : Nay, at last, I might have spared my pains of teaching the pretty bird ; for the rabble would have fancied her at my ear, tho' she had been all the while fluttering in their faces.

G. NAY, tho' she had been picking out their eyes. For I must acknowledge you the best of all the Bigot-makers that ever I read of ; my superstitious coxcombs never reach'd either the devotion, or morality of yours.

M. THAT is, because I laid a better bait than any in your Legends. Do you think there is any resisting the enjoyment of beautiful women with great eyes, for fifty years together ? Is not that more desirable, than passing through flames of purgatory, to only spiritual imaginary pleasures ?

G. BUT sure our joys unspeakable are above even yours, which indeed in decency ought to have been unspeakable too.

M. HAVE a care of that ; 'twill never do. Whatever is unspeakable, is also unconceivable. But this was not your fault, the schoolmen should have mended it.

G. ABUNDANCE of them have try'd to do it.

M.

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M. BUT to no purpose : 'Tis such a patch'd business, between the superstitions of old *Rome* and new *Rome* blended together, that the wise at last were ashamed to wear it, and did as good as throw it quite off, by what they call'd a Reformation.

G. VERY well, Sir. But is any thing so ridiculous as your lyes ?

M. YES, your Legends. But shall I confess a truth will make amends for all my Lyes ?

G. THAT will be something difficult.

M. I BEGAN to believe them myself at last.

G. OH ridiculous !

M. I WAS so very fortunate, that I fancied myself a kind of favourite of Heaven ; and if I had been put to it, 'tis not impossible but I might have died a martyr for a religion of my own invention.

G. THIS is more incredible than any thing in your whole *Alcoran*.

M. THEN, for all your popularity, you are not much skill'd in mankind. Why, we are all but over-grown children, afraid in the dark of our own scare-crows ; and as fond too sometimes of the babies we our selves trick up.

G. Is it possible ?

M. YES, to flatter a man into any thing : ALEXANDER himself, that pupil of ARISTOTLE, and the very top of all humanity, did at last believe that JUPITER was really his father ; and by his saying that sleep and lust convinc'd him of his being mortal, 'tis plain he sometimes doubted it.

G. LIKE enough. And did your instruments SERGIUS the Monk, and the rest, believe themselves too ?

M.

M. RELIGIOUS sort of men, you know, out-do all others in flattery ; and I having set them up for my ends, they sanctified me for theirs, 'till we almost acted our selves into a real veneration for one another. But tell me now a little of your pranks, for you play'd them, I hear, to some purpose.

G. I HAD so, if the business at *Blois* had not prevented me.

M. BUT you had a fine time of it 'till then.

G. VERY far from it. Rowing in the Gallies is nothing to the toil of popularity ; but ambition is rebutted with nothing.

M. WHY, pray where was all this trouble ?

G. FIRST, I never said one word I thought, and pass'd all my life in gaining such People's affections, whom all the while I contemn'd for being deceiv'd so grossly.

M. BUT yet, you had the pleasure of advancing your friends every day.

G. As seldom as possible, and did it always as unwillingly.

M. How then came they to follow you so much, and almost adore you as you went along the streets ?

G. Now 'tis you are catch'd ; I am glad to find you so much out, at the knowledge of mankind.

M. WHY pray, what is the matter ?

G. OBLIGING men, is not the way to win them.

M. METHINKS it should be so.

G. QUITE contrary : Every man I advanc'd, thinking his business done, never minded me afterwards ; so there I lost a friend, and made a hundred enemies out of envy to him.

M.

M. BUT yet you order'd your business so, as to have a great many friends, and few enemies, except the *Huguenots*.

G. TRUE : But 'twas only by seeming kind to every body, and all the while caring for nobody. I us'd them just like a herd of beasts, (as indeed they are) increas'd their number all the ways I could, valu'd them according to their use, but lov'd none. Would you have had me fond of a black Ox, or a red Cow ?

M. FOR aught I see, never man was beloved so much, or deserv'd it so little.

G. THANK you for your compliment ; and not to be ungrateful, I believe never any Religion has either been spread or practis'd so much as yours, and yet without the least shadow of wit or learning.

M. THAT is the reason it took so much. Whoever aims at mankind, must not shoot high : Fine nets may catch birds, but never hold beasts. Mine were coarse and strong, worth a thousand of your school-distinctions, which are but slight cobwebs spun out of ease and idleness. Being witty out of season, is one sort of folly.

O N

JULIUS CÆSAR.

THAT the lives of famous men are incitements to noble actions, is so vulgar a reflection, that all Prefaces are full of it, and every reader feels it. But in JULIUS CÆSAR, not only when he was at the head of armies, but long before he grew so considerable, there is something so very charming, and so peculiarly remarkable, that I cannot hold from exercising my thoughts on such a noble subject; if it be but to put others in mind, who have more leisure and ability to do it better.

WHEN we read of other Heroes, of ALEXANDER *the Great*, &c. we are more astonish'd than instructed. Perhaps all the circumstances of their story were not so well known; or else the writers of it have done both them and posterity a great deal of wrong, in representing them rather like THESEUS and HERCULES in the fabulous ages, than naturally in their own proper colours. What they are fam'd for, appears methinks like the Creation of man as describ'd by MOSES; done in an instant, and we poor mortals know not how, nor why: With this difference indeed, that in *Paradise* a meer human creature was form'd with those failings and imperfections which have been fatal to us ever since; whereas ALEXANDER, &c. are made so extraordinary, or rather so extravagant, and doing things so impossible

ble to human nature, that it serves no more to our instruction than what PLINY writes of flying Dragons. If this were only an excess of commendation, the valour of such worthies is great enough to deserve, or at least to excuse an hyperbole: But we see 'tis nothing besides a meer inclination in the writers to romance, and extravagance; for, if they raise them above men in some places, they depress them as much below beasts in others. What else are the fantastick unaccountable vanities, the sottish debauches, and the inhuman cruelties of ALEXANDER *the Great*? If you will have my opinion, they are no more to be credited, than his defending himself all alone against a whole garrison; where, if he needlessly threw himself into such a danger, his valour, great as it was, is scarce sufficient to make amends for his rashness; nor does his force seem more extraordinary than his folly.

BUT in CÆSAR, all appears most naturally becoming, even to his very faults, and imperfections. He is describ'd to us like a vast tree, tall above the whole grove besides, spreading its branches all about, laden with every sort of delicious fruit; yet all the while it seems natural, and but a Tree; we see the very seed from whence it grew, and view the daily growth; and observe the winds that would have often torn it up by the roots, had they not been fixed in the firmest foundation. It bred indeed some cankers within itself: as what in nature is not subject to passions, and infirmities? Yet he stood triumphant even over these, his most dangerous enemies.

LET us begin with his youth, which was so very agreeable, as to please both the husbands and wives at the same time: This I know has been esteem'd

esteem'd rather a blemish to his reputation, by such grave authors as did not rightly consider his character. Indeed this had been unpardonable in CATO a Stoick, and a zealous professor of the most rigorous virtue: But CÆSAR's was above all such narrow rules, like the genius of HOMER in poetry, or of APOLLO in painting; and could never have soar'd so high, or made such lasting flights, without resting itself sometimes on these lower delights of the senses. Yet methinks a nobleness of nature appear'd in his very pleasures, and his ambition of conquest began with the wives of CRASSUS and POMPEY, the two greatest men in the world at that time; who, notwithstanding their jealousy, were so charm'd by his conversation, that they rais'd him between them to be as considerable as themselves; one by his wealth, the other by his reputation. SERVI-LIA too must needs have been the wonder of her age; for what less can we imagine of a woman who was sister of CATO, mother of BRUTUS, and the beloved mistress of JULIUS CÆSAR? Yet all this wandring abroad, did not make him insensible at home; for on that discovery of CLODIUS, he both said and did the reasonablest thing in the world: He chose rather to part with his wife, than to keep with her a perpetual anxiety of mind; and only gave this reasonable account of it, that he could not doubt the virtue of his wife, but much less bear the world's having the least suspicion of it. I was unwilling to mention, among other failings, his extravagant fondness of CLEOPATRA (if fondness of the finest woman in nature may be call'd extravagant) because it had like to have cost him both life and reputation, and therefore not to be defended. But since his whole carriage in *Egypt* appears the greatest and almost

almost only error of his whole life ; 'tis no little excuse for him, that Love was the only occasion of it. Love that resistless Passion ! which has forc'd DAVID to contrive a murder, SOLOMON to commit idolatry, and all mankind to play the fool at one time or other.

BUT we have been too long intent on his pleasures, as indeed he himself was, and sufficiently sensible of it, when a statue of ALEXANDER made him weep ; to think another man should have almost conquer'd the world at an age when he had scarce appear'd in it. The truth is, he was involv'd a-while in debauches, like a fierce Lion in a toil, which his strength of mind broke through on the first occasion that was offer'd him by the several factions at that time. But I do not mean to write his Life, which has been done so often and so well already ; but only to make some short reflections on it, as my memory shall serve me ; which can hardly fail of springing some game in such an ample field of fame and glory. First, the conspiracy of CATILINE presents us with a full view of CÆSAR, who was so violently suspected to make one in it, that CATO would needs have a letter open'd publickly in the Senate-house, only because it was directed to him : In this surprize he acted with as much prudence, as all the time and advice in the world could have furnish'd him with. For it happening to be a Love-letter from his dear SERVILIA, and therefore not to be expos'd thus before a company of morose Senators, who by this accident (one would imagine) must necessarily find cause to censure either him, or her, or both, according to his concealing, or exposing the Letter : Yet CÆSAR in an instant not only overcame all this difficulty, but reveng'd himself on CATO
suffici-

sufficiently, for bringing him into the danger ; who, tho' long before acquainted with his sister's intrigue, was quickly in more confusion than CÆSAR, when he threw him the Letter, and bid him read it publickly, if he durst.

CATO pursu'd him still, making a most violent Speech against the conspirators : But CÆSAR, tho' privately one of them, and sufficiently suspected, yet openly and eloquently defended the rest, as if they had been only his clients, and not his partners ; and by that firmness of mind sav'd himself from the violence of CATO, and the wiles of CICERO, both join'd together to procure his ruin. Yet he was in a manner but an Apprentice in that conspiracy of CATILINE ; and shew'd them soon after how much abler he could be than all his masters, when once he began to set up for himself ; tho' with a nobler design, and in a more generous way ; not to ruin and pillage such a goodly Empire, but improve it in all things, as his more happy successors liv'd long enough to accomplish.

But 'tis high time for us to behold him in the field, where I know the reader expects him with impatience, because that indeed was his proper sphere ; and never man had such talents for it. His body, notwithstanding the falling sickness, was strong and active to a wonder, fit for all the exercise and fatigues of war ; yet unwieldy and sluggish, in comparison of his mind, which was rather what we imagine of angelical than humane ; such a strange quickness of thought and imagination, join'd with so piercing and profound a judgment ; and both supported with a memory and capacity able to do all things at all times. * * * * *

UNFINISHED.

M 2

THE

THE
STORY
OF
HEROD
AND
MARC ANTONY,

Collected out of the Roman Historians.

THERE is a passage in the *Roman History* so very remarkable, that it deserves to be more particularly related, with all its circumstances ; which, being now at leisure, I have collected out of those several Authors, who are reputed the most faithful historians of that time.

AMONG those many, who, according to the custom of the world, forsook MARC ANTONY in his declining fortune, HEROD was the most considerable ; who, tho' King of *Judæa* by his particular grace and favour, yet at length was forced to forsake him ; but in such a manner, that

THE STORY OF *HEROD*, &c. 165

that all the world, and even *MARC ANTONY* himself, could not but acquit him both of meanness and ingratitude. Which seems (in my opinion) the plainest instance, and the highest aggravation of that poor Emperor's imprudence, and infelicity; that his being abandon'd by the very best and most oblig'd of all his friends, should be altogether imputed to his own ill conduct, and not to the least unfaithfulness or ingratitude of *HEROD*.

HEROD was not allowed the honour of being at the famous battle of *Actium*; because employed to finish the conquest of *Arabia*, which *ANTONY* had privately given to *CLEOPATRA*, together with the reversion of *Judæa* itself, of which *HEROD* was then King. So that she cunningly contrived to satisfy her ambition with engaging *HEROD* either to gain one Kingdom for her, or else to fall in the attempt, and so leave the other free. But *HEROD* was not easily impos'd on; and having ended the war in *Arabia* successfully, brought all the assistance of a conqueror to support, if possible, the falling greatness of *ANTONY*. *HEROD*, it seems, had long before suspected the dangerous arts of *CLEOPATRA*; and like a true friend, advis'd *ANTONY* against her, even in all the height of her favour and his passion. He had press'd him especially not to carry her along with him to that unfortunate battle, as if he had foreseen the fatal consequence of her being there. 'Tis no wonder therefore, if he had some hopes of finding him more prudent at last by so sad an experience; and accordingly made haste to overtake him immediately after his overthrow. There he endeavoured to raise the spirits of his drooping friend, by presenting him frankly with all the fruits of his own success, to ballance in some

measure the misfortune of *Actium*. Men, money and provisions of all sorts, he supplies him with in abundance; but then takes so favourable an opportunity to give him the only advice that could save him, and at once revenge them both of the false CLEOPATRA. He makes him sensible that she had not only been his ruin, by her extravagant flight at the battle of *Actium*; but was now contriving it with AUGUSTUS, the better to prevent her own; to whom she had sent a trusty messenger (in the company of ANTONY's Ambassadors) who was extremely well received, while they were refus'd audience. And therefore, unless he were content to be deliver'd up by CLEOPATRA, there remained no other course to be taken but to seize on her, and secure *Ægypt* to himself; where he might easily make a stand, 'till he was sufficiently recruited to renew the war. To these most convincing arguments that unfortunate General made only this reply, after a deep sigh from his very soul; *I confess, my friend, 'tis impossible to shew at once more friendship, and prudence, than appears most plainly in the advice you have now given me; never was a wiser counsel, nor worse bestow'd; for alas, I am incapable of following it: And to make me thoroughly unhappy, That love, or rather enchantment which ties me yet to CLEOPATRA as firmly as ever, is not enough to blind me intirely: For, I see, as well as you, her falsehood, and consequently my own folly; but oh! it seems you do not see, as I do, all those charms that cause it: In a word, I doat on her to that degree, she may lead me in chains to CÆSAR, while I contentedly go along gazing on her beauty, and unable to lose the sight of it, tho' but for a moment.* HEROD amaz'd, as much as afflicted, asked him, If it was possible that this
could

could be his final resolution ? to which he answered only, That it was as unchangeable as fate ; and so would have left him, to run immediately into the arms of CLEOPATRA. But HEROD, being a wise man, foresaw now his own ruin every way ; for, he was not only sure to fall with MARC ANTONY (which yet he could have almost endur'd patiently for his sake) but to fall by him also, in case some lucky accident of state happen'd to make a turn in his affairs : For who could expect secrecy in such a slave of CLEOPATRA ? Or her mercy, after ANTONY had once expos'd him to it ? which forc'd HEROD, in spite of all his friendship, to take this last farewell of his unhappy Emperor. *That little assistance which I have brought hither, I am so far from withdrawing again, that I would yet go back to fetch more, if I had not done already all that was possible for me in your service : only my person now I ask your leave to dispose of ; and you may judge by this, into what a lost condition your fatal obstinacy has brought us both ; since I am forced to leave a Prince I love above all men living, to try the good nature of one who is remarkable for wanting it, and has already vanquish'd us.* ANTONY, as infatuated as he was, yet had generosity enough left, to let him go and seek his own security, and to embrace him at parting with a great deal of tenderness ; perhaps having a secret satisfaction in being unloaded of such a friend, who was too true a counsellor not to be sometimes troublesome. HEROD went immediately to *Rhodes*, and presented himself on a sudden before AUGUSTUS CÆSAR. His Diadem indeed was off, but he took care to carry with him all the other marks of regal dignity, with which he appeared rather awful, than submissive ; and seem'd more to offer

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friendship,

friendship, than to implore favour. Then, after having owned all he had already, and would still have done for ANTONY, if his passion for CLEOPATRA would have suffer'd him to accept his assistance ; he at length broke out into this expression : *Think not, oh OCTAVIUS ! that I quitted MARC ANTONY, either out of my own inconstancy, or for that of fortune, which has of late forsaken him. If he would now at last have follow'd my advice, I had freely ventured in his preservation a Kingdom, which I must acknowledge I owe only to his generosity, and a life, that can never be laid down better than in his service. But since I had not credit enough with that unhappy Man to persuade him to save himself, I thought it but a foolish part to sink with any person who was bent on his own destruction ; and to remain in a Court, where ANTONY was so much a slave to CLEOPATRA, that it was impossible for me to escape, after the faithful advice I had given against her. And now here I stand as much his friend as ever, in my inclinations and wishes, unless you esteem me worthy of being yours ; which if you do, I think by all the rules of honour and of gratitude, I am free to follow your fortunes, as heartily as I was before engag'd in his, and am resolv'd to observe the same fidelity.* AUGUSTUS, who was an admirable judge of all things, embrac'd him with a great deal of respect, and esteem'd him the more for so frank a way of proceeding ; he procur'd of the Senate to have his Kingdom of *Judæa* confirm'd to him, added to it that of *ZENODORUS*, and made him his friend ever after.

THIS HEROD was that King of *Judæa* who was counted so cruel, and not without cause, especially to his own family, whom it seems he was excessively jealous of ; which gave occasion for
that

that sharp saying of AUGUSTUS, (notwithstanding their reconcilment,) *That he had rather be HEROD's Sow than his Son.* But yet he wanted not some good qualities to balance his vices, and which justly gave him the denomination of HEROD *the Great* : Whose whole proceeding in this matter is the more imitable ; because it was universally esteem'd in an age, and by a people, the most sensible of honour that ever any have been known, within the memory of man.

ANDREW A. WOOD

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OBSERVATIONS

ON THE

FIRST BOOK

OF

TULLY'S EPISTLES

TO

ATTICUS.

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TULLY'S EPISTLES

TO

ATTICUS

ADVERTISEMENT.

THIS is a short Comment on some few passages in TULLY'S Letters to ATTICUS, wherein Monsieur DE St. REAL (the best of all the Commentators) is either silent, or else in my opinion a little mistaken ; as who is not sometimes ?

BEING at leisure of late, I have amused myself on this subject, because I think these Letters one of the most valuable Pieces of all antiquity both for use and entertainment ; enlarging as well as instructing our minds still more, every time we read them ; shining with new beauties, and giving clearer light towards managing the most important affairs.

I must take Notice of a slight touch here and there, on my Notes, on the common Topick of Marriage; which is only to be understood generally, since I am sufficiently satisfied by a most comfortable experience that all such general rules admit of particular exceptions.

O B S E R-

OBSERVATIONS

O N

TULLY'S LETTERS

T O

ATTICUS.

LETTER I.

This was the Fifth Letter in some Editions, but misplaced.

I.

QUANTUM *dolorem*, &c. This very first expression in TULLY'S first Letter to ATTICUS, is almost sufficient to recommend all that follows. For 'tis not a meer Affectation of good nature ; (such as we may observe in the way and words of some dissemblers, who yet shine with it extremely among those who cannot distinguish ;) but this is an appeal to a wise and old acquaintance ; “ You who know me
 “ so very well (says CICERO) cannot doubt of my
 “ tenderness at the loss of my kinsman.” If we had not still remaining a great many other instances of his good nature ; yet this single expression of his, would have left us some idea of
 it.

it. Which I take the more notice of, because he was the sharpest ill-natured Orator in all *Rome*, against those who indangered her Liberty: That eager inveteracy in behalf of his native Country, was it seems no way inconsistent with the most gentle and affable temper we know of, among all the *Romans*.

THAT which follows in this Letter, shews he did not bewail his loss without cause; for he gives his kinsman in a few words the finest character imaginable. “Agreeable in conversation, “and useful both in publick and private affairs.” Such an unaffected commendation from so great a judge, is more valuable than a hundred monuments and panegyricks.

II.

QUOD *ad me scribis de sorore, &c.* This is another instance of his good disposition, in taking such pains to dissuade a married couple from living together uneasily; a business hard enough to bring about with all his eloquence. Yet I should not have taken notice of it, but for his great politeness in the way of such an interposition; mixing the authority of an elder brother, the head of his house, with the freedom of a familiar and affectionate friend. For 'tis no easy matter in the exercise of authority, to be neither remiss, nor haughtily imperious.

III.

QUOD *scribis, etiam si, &c.* This reconciliation which TULLY was to make between ATTICUS and LUCCEIUS (for that we find afterward to be his name) is mightily taken notice of in a little *French* book call'd CESARION: wherein the author, tho' very wittily, seems a little over-

over-fond of a paradox he maintains against the celebrated character of ATTICUS; of whose failings in friendship he quotes this very quarrel for one instance, yet without understanding what was the occasion of it. 'Tis a little odd too in that author, to conclude ATTICUS guilty of breach of friendship, only because earnest to renew it; and LUCCEIUS innocent, because implacable. And, since that Gentleman affects singularity in his discourses, I think he could hardly have shewn a plainer instance of it. I cannot but take notice of one expression in ATTICUS's Letter, which CICERO repeats in this; "You write (says he) that "if any body be your enemy, 'tis my business "to appease him." Friendship must have run pretty high in an age when such an expression was proper: And the most accomplish'd Gentleman of all *Rome* would hardly have used it to one of the greatest, if his own heart and active affection had not been warm enough to warrant such an expectation of a suitable return. Which he met with accordingly; since CICERO here owns the right of service he claims of him; and several letters shew his punctual performance of it, tho' unsuccessfully. For it seems it was easier for CICERO to persuade whole Senates and popular Assemblies, than one obstinate, though most estimable person, as LUCCEIUS appears to be in all the accounts we have of him. Which is less to be wondred at, because those are two very different Talents, publick eloquence, and private insinuation.

IV.

Ex omnibus molestiis, &c. This seems to me a little strange in TULLY, the most easy-humoured and facetious man in the world; whose very great

genius was so fit also for business, that methinks he should not be so tired with it, as never to be at ease except in his Library. Yet just at that time perhaps some unusual affairs crouded upon him, of no great moment to the publick; for had that been concern'd, I am confident he would never have grudg'd his pains, but made it rather his greatest pleasure. I impute all this complaint to his usual good breeding in making that an excuse, for those many repeated troubles he gave ATTICUS about trifles towards adorning his Library; which therefore he professes here to be his only satisfaction. If it be objected that an excuse has an air of ceremony, which is not only formal, but faulty among friends; it may be observ'd, he makes no difficulty of imploying ATTICUS often on this occasion, and only shews a little politeness in pretending it was now grown his only satisfaction; that so his Friend might have the more, in gratifying that humour.

V.

CUJUS *sermonis genus*, &c. This impertinent conversation of ACUTILIUS puts us in mind of a great many, who, though far from being silly in managing their own private affairs, are yet in conversation worse to be endur'd than an ordinary Fit of the cholick: Accordingly CICERO puts it down here pleasantly, as the greatest uneasiness his Friendship had ever made him undergo, to have been so long in such tedious company upon his account.

L E T.

L E T T E R II.

In some Editions this was the Sixth, but mistaken.

QUID agas, &c. This is one of the pleasures, as well as privileges of friendship. *Rome* was the place in all the world of the greatest affairs, and of the most entertainment: TULLY was one of the busiest men in it; yet amidst all this, he inquires with earnestness about every little thing his friend not only does, but thinks, and intends to do. Though I am apt to believe there was something of his own natural vivacity in the case; whose active mind, and capaciousness of thought, the whole Empire of *Rome* was scarce large enough to imploy sufficiently: So vast a thing is the mind of some men. Which I say not altogether by way of commendation, but of admiration rather; for wherever it is such, there appears something of rambling, as well as reasoning, in so great a genius.

L E T T E R III.

In some Editions this was made a Part of the last Letter, I suppose for its shortness only; since it is plainly a different Letter.

OMNEM spem delectationis, &c. Here he repeats again his great expectation of pleasure in the Library he was now contriving; which I should not take notice of, but upon account of that time of life for which he design'd it, *Cum in otium venerimus*: This is one sign how much CICCERO was fitted by nature, for learning, as well as publick business; because

he seems ever preparing himself to retire out of it ; and as capable in his closet to divert himself, or instruct the world, as he was in the *Forum* or Senate-house to govern it. This is no small advantage in Republicks, where a sort of rotation is necessary, by which men are seen under several capacities, and much better judg'd of in such different lights, than in a Monarchy ; where one man chuses either among those few commended to him by their friends, or among others disguised always by their own insinuations and flattery.

L E T T E R IV.

HERMÆ *tui pentelici*, &c. I am heartily glad to find this fondness of Statues, &c. in such a man as CICERO ; though I am not surpris'd at it, because I scarce ever knew or read of any great genius insensible of such things : For indeed they have a real value in themselves, and not only (as some imagine) in the fancy of Virtuosoës.

L E T T E R V.

I.

NIMIUM *raro nobis*, &c. On this occasion the ingenious Author of the best notes upon these Letters, admires very justly at the want of *Posts* in such an Empire as the *Roman* ; especially considering that CYRUS had in some measure established them above four hundred years before. But I cannot understand how these words shew any such deficiency ; because a Post-office had been of no use to so important

portant a correspondence as this, which certainly deserved the care of particular expresses, and all the secrecy imaginable. A method easier among them, by reason of their multitude of slaves ready, and generally very faithful on all occasions.

II.

ET *Arcæ nostræ confidito*, &c. Here TULLY is so wise, as not to spare his purse for his pleasure; and seems overjoyed to feel a new taste of Statues and such curiosities coming upon him: Knowing a fresh appetite, at his Age, to be the most desirable jewel that a rich man can possibly purchase.

L E T T E R VI.

*From Tusculum, CICERO'S Country-house,
to ATTICUS at Athens.*

CUM *essem in Ceramico*, &c. Here is a small touch of that agreeable raillery, in which the *Romans*, and among them our author most particularly excelled. ATTICUS, it seems, had dated his last Letter from a famous place in *Greece*; CICERO therefore, who could not in this answer to it affix so stately a name on the top, and yet had the vanity (which was his Foible) to be willingly out-done by no-body; falls a railly-ing of him in revenge, as if he supposed ATTICUS had affected to write from such a celebrated city; and so as formally dates his Letter in this manner, *From Tusculum, CICERO'S Country-Seat, to ATTICUS at Athens.* These two places are now indeed almost equally famous on ac-
N 3 count

count of CICERO, and on the same account of having been once inhabited by the noblest defenders of Liberty, in the two most glorious Commonwealths that ever were.

II.

MAGNOPERE *confido illum*, &c. This is an instance of that human frailty, which bears so great a part in the very wisest minds. Here CICERO undertakes the reconciliation of LUCCEIUS to his beloved ATTICUS, with all the alacrity and ardour of a true and an industrious friend : But at the same time shews too great a confidence in himself of the success (as indeed vanity was his only Foible) not considering, that Eloquence is more capable of turning a whole assembly of Senators, than of convincing one angry or obstinate person. And accordingly it prov'd so in this case. For, besides that TULLY's way of reasoning was rather agreeable and florid, than strong and nervous ; no man accustomed to great assemblies, finds his imagination so lively, or his understanding so large in any dry conversation of business, as when warm'd in publick with hopes of applause, and of serving his Country ; in both which CICERO used to succeed so gloriously. I have often observ'd this difference at Committees of Parliament, and Cabinet Councils ; where men would speak well, and even with warmth sometimes ; but seldom with so much force and eloquence, as in a full House of Parliament.

III.

SIGNA *nostra*, &c. He had owned in a former Letter, how much Statues and such Curiosities for setting off his Library, were become his principal

cial inclination : And it appears plainly by so many unnecessary repetitions of it. Which I take notice of, only as a warning to myself and others, that we may be so watchful over our eagerness and impatience, as never to let it trouble our friends, though perhaps we cannot help being unquiet with it our selves.

IV.

NON *minimum quod soror prægnaus est.*
wonder he mentions his Sister-in-law's being with child, as no little proof of his brother's kindness ; which yet sure is none of the greatest, unless TULLY thought it hard to lie with a man's own wife, as perhaps he found it with TERENCE.

V.

DE *comitiis meis*, &c. Here is, in one instance, more good nature, and good breeding, (two of the best qualities any man can have) than now appears in a whole age among us ; and therefore it deserves a little explanation. CICERO had a pretension to the Pretorship, in which nothing could be more useful than ATTICUS's presence at Rome, one of the most considerable and popular men in it. Yet TULLY not only, to prevent his trouble in making such a journey, dispenses with his absence, but furnishes him with the best excuses in the world for it. " Because (says he) I am more concern'd in
" whatever you are transacting of greater im-
" portance for your self at Athens, than for any
" affairs of my own in Rome." And what is yet more than this, because CICERO knew the niceness of his temper, which would not hazard the being reproached for neglecting his friend at

such a time ; he not only very positively forbids him to take the journey, but assures him all their friends shall know as much ; that in case he lose the Pretorship by his absence, the blame may only fall upon himself for it. I know not how the reader will be affected at this, but I want words to express my own sense of so friendly and so noble a proceeding : And that which heightens it, is the wonderful ambition among the *Romans* of arriving early at these great employments, so as sometimes to kill themselves upon having failed of their pretension ; add also the particular eagerness of TULLY's humour for all things he desired, (as we saw just now) but especially for honours and preferments, even to excess. Yet how frankly, how generously does he sacrifice all this, only to ease his friend of a troublesome journey ! Such a man was CICERO ; and such a place was *Rome*, which had many CICEONES ! Men not only like him, but even above him with all his parts and politeness. And yet we have the farce sometimes of hearing ignorant wretches, especially the *French*, undervalue both *Greeks* and *Romans*, in comparison with themselves.

L E T T E R VII.

I.

VERUM *ne causam quidem*, &c. It seems this quarrel between ATTICUS and LUCCEIUS (for that appears to be his name) was very hearty on one side ; for nothing shews that more than such an obstinate denial to declare the true cause of it ; tho' 'tis also a design of being implacable, and revengeful. In which I differ with the Abbot of ST. REAL, who, after affirming
rightly

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rightly that, *Les plus grands & les plus sensibles sujets de plainte se disent le moins*, is yet methinks a little mistaken in judging such a sullen silence reasonable, notwithstanding all interposition of friends. But I see, no sort of good fortune is without alloy ; for ATTICUS, so particularly famous for living not only inoffensively, but almost friendly with all Men ; has yet some way or other provoked two implacable enemies, this LUCCEIUS of old, and our ingenious Abbot now ; who, besides his notes on these Letters between ATTICUS and CICERO, has in a little book called *Cæsarion*, used the first of them almost as unmercifully as ANTONY did the other : So that I am confident if our Author had lived in those times, and if private Combats had been then in fashion, (which are two *If's*, I confess, as far fetch'd as some of his reflections) he would have been LUCCEIUS's second, and perhaps have fought a duel with CICERO.

II.

SUMMUM *me eorum studium tenet*, &c. There can hardly be a greater proof than this of the ravishing delights of Learning. That such a man as CICERO, whose agreeable sort of wit so fitted him for the pleasures of conversation, and whose great talents help'd him to all the satisfaction his ambitious humour was capable of ; yet to his intimate friend he makes a solemn protestation of being no where so well pleas'd as among his Books and Papers. But, to his immortal honour, it ought to be observ'd also, that, notwithstanding all his inclination to Philosophy, and ability of instructing the world that way, yet he always prefer'd doing well, to writing well, and sacrificed

ficed his own humour [the most difficult self-denial, because a continual one] to the publick service, and the safety of his country : For which his great concern at this time, seeing affairs so ill managed, drew from him this expression of fondness for his Library, that now afforded him his only consolation.

L E T T E R VIII.

AVIAM *tuam*, &c. I hope this Grandmother of ATTICUS was some impertinent old Dotard ; for otherwise, CICERO acquaints him with her death methinks a little slightly. But his raillery upon her Bigotry does something excuse itself, by mentioning so good a reason for his undervaluing her, and even jesting on her death. Which I can never impute to the manners of those times, as St. REAL does ; because I should think their being more refin'd than we are, should rather incline them to more good nature, and greater respect to Parents. I must differ also with him again about the consolatory Letter which CICERO jestingly supposes that SAUFEIUS (an *Epicurean* friend of theirs) would write to ATTICUS on this occasion. SAUFEIUS (says he) believing death to be no harm, nor any thing after it, was found out pleasantly by CICERO for that condoling office, as one who could be troubled at nothing ; if that had been TULLY's meaning, he would rather have chosen some *Stoick* for the purpose ; whereas the *Epicureans*, tho' turning every ill accident to the best use (as all wise men do) yet own'd a tender sense of both pain and pleasure ; so that I fancy rather he pick'd him out for his softness ; which, shewn on this occasion,

occasion, would have appear'd indeed sufficiently ridiculous. After all, this is but guessing at random ; and I should be loth to be earnest in trifles, or wrangle about the meaning of a Letter written seventeen hundred years ago ; as our Critics sometimes do, with the same concern as if it were about the words of a *Will*, on which their whole estates depended.

L E T T E R IX.

I.

NOS *hic incredibilis*, &c. Here appears a right disposition of mind for a person in publick business : To regard in the first place the doing of justice, and yet to enjoy very great satisfaction in that applause which attends it : For sure it is allowable in Morality, as well as Divinity, to look up to the rewards expected. The truth is, the love of Virtue and of Fame most commonly go together ; and no doubt are made to do so for an encouragement to Virtue, by the wisdom of that Being which has contrived all things.

II.

QUOD *ad me de Hermathena scribis*, &c. 'Tis impossible to shew more eager fondness for Statues and Books, than appears every where in these Letters : Though perhaps the first was principally for the sake of the last, since they were to stand in his Library ; a place to which he had so violent an inclination, as to make him mention it always in the hyperbolical style of a very Lover.

LETTER X.

ABS *te peto ut mihi hoc ignoscas, &c.* Here he puts gratitude (and I love him for it) as the best reason in the world for refusing any body, and indeed for doing any thing. But when he mentions ambition as another excuse, methinks he needed a much greater apology, and to use all his rhetorick for denying so faithful a friend.

LETTER to POMPEY.

NULLA *enim re tam lætari soleo, &c.* CICERO here appears such an honest man, and of so noble a nature, that 'tis impossible not to be touched with it. A good action, says he, rewards itself, and all your ingratitude cannot make me the least repent of it, or deprive me of a very great satisfaction in having done my part of friendship, even at this time while I am thus reproaching the failure of yours.

IF I wou'd strain some excuse for being ungrateful (of which it stands sufficiently in need) it shou'd be this great satisfaction of mind in doing any generous well-natur'd action; the pleasure of which pays itself abundantly, without needing any reward or return. Here also, TULLY shews himself a master in the mystery of politicks, by warning POMPEY against courting his enemies, instead of indulging his friends; which is the way only to be despised by both: The quite contrary practice being the surest means both of rising high, and standing firm.

LET-

LETTER to METELLUS CELER

EGO *dolori tuo non solum ignosco, &c.* I know not what effect it will have on others, but I am enamour'd of this candid temper of CICERO, in not only pardoning the unreasonable anger of METELLUS, in behalf of his brother ; but confessing what a softness he felt to his near relations on the like occasions ; and how much that experience inclined him to allow it the better in another man, though now it happened to be against himself. What gentleness ! what prudence ! how just an indulgence to the weakness of human nature !

LETTER XIII.

CONSUL *autem ipse, &c.* An admirable picture in a few words ! Perhaps as sharp a censure as was ever written, and deserving a very particular notice, by all lovers of either Eloquence or Satire.

TANTUM *quod ea emptione, &c.* Upon this occasion there is no denying that TULLY once broke the Law, in borrowing money of a criminal he defended, in order to finish a great house he was building : I am heartily sorry for it, and would give money to be able to defend him. I can only excuse him a little, by remarking, that it was not by a thousand parts so bad an action, as if he had for lucre accused an innocent ; and hope for his sake, that the temptation did not lie in the money, but only in his great impatience for building ; being the most eager man in the world for any thing of that kind.

LET-

L E T T E R XIV.

EGO *autem ipse, Dii boni!* &c. Once for all, this constant appearance of vanity in so great and wise a man, deserves some particular reflection, a little beyond the vulgar manner of commentators: It having been always made so great an objection to that excellent person, the rather I believe, because indeed they cou'd find no other to make. First, nothing is more plain and reasonable in judging of the antients, than to make allowance both for times and places: without which, how extravagant will CATO seem, in making no more of lending his wife, than we do now-a-days in sparing a friend some rare ambler for a journey of pleasure. Nay, what shall we think of the two wives of JACOB, for kindly affording him a couple of handsome Handmaids? The *Romans* were naturally extremely vain-glorious, and politickly encouraged that humour in every body, as being a constant inciter to virtue, and all sorts of noble actions. Religion also was concern'd in it, since fame and reputation cannot but imply a future state; the present here being of too small extent to be temptation enough for venturing all things to acquire it; especially in losing even Life itself so frankly, without a firm belief of having amends made them hereafter, in that to come.

AFTER all, no man can be further than I am from making this the least excuse for vanity now-a-days; for in behalf of TULLY himself, I can find none sufficient, except from the age and country he liv'd in. In ours, I believe, there is nothing will more keep down a man's reputation than his own eagerness, and therefore silliness, in
openly

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openly taking notice of it. But the circumstances were otherwise with CICE^{RO}; who yet sometimes cou'd not hold from rallying himself about it. All this while too, I have said nothing of his being unable with all his Eloquence, to speak greater things of himself, than History speaks of him, and than all his Writings speak for him.

Left Unfinished.

THE

T H E
L E T T E R
O F
E P I C U R U S
T O
M E N E C E U S.

TH E youngest persons should not defer reflecting on virtue and morality, nor the oldest give over weary of it ; for who is either too young, or too old, to keep his mind as easy as 'tis possible ? Youth will by practice of this grow wiser and happier every day ; and old age itself may, by such a help, enjoy over-again in some measure the soft hours of youth ; by avoiding all anxious thoughts, not only of the future, but the present. Apply your self therefore, oh MENECEUS, to follow my advice, with an assurance that all these things are the very principles of happiness.

BE-

BELIEVING then, first, that GOD or the original cause of all things, is something immortal and happy, which the light of nature informs us; be tender of attributing with the vulgar, to that glorious Being, any thing that is in the least repugnant to its divine nature.

THERE are also other invisible substances; but not such as men imagine to themselves and describe yet otherwise than they imagine, when they preach about it. He therefore who denies the common opinions of the people, is not impious; but he who maintains them: For such idle notions come not from the light of reason, but from meer fear and fancy. They believe rightly, that the Gods punish the wicked and reward the good; but then 'tis only because they themselves wou'd do so, and therefore they think those superior Beings of just the same humour; by which scanty measure they judge of all things.

ACCUSTOM your self to think death of no concern to us, since all pleasure and pain depends on our senses, and death is nothing but an utter deprivation of them all.

A FIRM Assurance that death is nothing more, is the only way to make life easy; without vain hopes on one hand, or anxious fears on the other. While we are alive, death is absent; and when death comes, we are so: Therefore since it does no harm, who but a fool wou'd fear it? Even life is good, not according to its length, but as we pass it in quiet and satisfaction.

'Tis equally needless to advise the young to live, or the old to die; for as Life is amiable to the one, death is as necessary to the other, and the reason is the same for both. Whoever talks of wishing not to have been born, is ridiculous; because, if in earnest, why does he not kill him-

self? and, if in jest, none but a fool would make that a laughing matter.

WE ought to think the future so much ours only, as that it may come; but not depend on it, as if it must do so.

WE all have desires, of which some are natural and useful; others are not so: Of the natural, some are more necessary than others: The necessary are partly for life itself; and the rest, for the ease and pleasure of it. The plain knowledge of this will make us see what we ought to follow, or avoid, either for health of body, or repose of mind; which two things compleat our happiness. The attaining of these is all we have to do; for Pleasure is only the sense of supplying some want; and therefore when we feel none of any kind, there is nothing to wish, or desire.

THIS is the reason of our maintaining Pleasure to be the only principle of Happiness; because every body feels 'tis the first gift of nature, at our coming into the world; as 'tis the last with which we go out of it. It must certainly be the measure of all good; and if we sometimes chuse pain, or trouble before it, 'tis always in order to some greater satisfaction afterward: Therefore all pleasure is not so good, as that we should blindly abandon ourselves to it, no more than always avoid trouble; but only weigh both, and on occasion serve ourselves of either.

I COUNT temperance and self-denial a great virtue; not that we should generally practise it; but only sometimes, that we may the better endure any want which may happen to us. As none act well in great stations, but such as value them but a little.

WE must know also, that whatever is necessary to our nature, is to be had easily; and what is difficult

difficult to come by, may as easily be spared. The coarsest fare will give full pleasure to a man who is hungry ; and since only bread and water will delight in necessity, 'tis good to fast often ; for abstinence is the great preserver of health and vigour ; besides that it makes us much more sensible of delicacies.

By this time it is plain enough, that when I establish pleasures as our chiefest good, I am far from meaning those only of the lazy and luxurious, who look no farther than sensual ones : And yet the ignorant are apt to misinterpret us. All my aim is, with the utmost art and care to avoid uneasiness either of mind or body. 'Tis not pleasures and diversions, delicacies of diet or other things, nor even the joys of women, that can make a Life intirely happy, tho' some of these may be good ingredients to it ; but only good sense and temperance, with a rational inquiry into the nature of things, so as to be thoroughly disengag'd from all those vulgar errors which so much disquiet the greatest part of mankind.

THE principle of all these things, and therefore our sovereign good, is nothing but Prudence ; which accordingly deserves to be valu'd above all Learning and Philosophy ; because all other virtues proceed from this virtue alone, which first convinces us that we ought to desire the rest, and then assists us in the obtaining them.

PRUDENCE shews us there is no living comfortably, without observing justice and honour in all our actions : And thus virtue and pleasure do not only consist together, but are indeed inseparable.

THESE things supposed, what man can go higher than he, who has reverend thoughts of

196 LETTER OF *EPICURUS*, &c.

the supreme Cause ? is without apprehension either of death, or of what comes after it ; who understands so well the nature of man, and his chief felicity, as to believe it easily attainable ; and that all pain is either short, or to be indured with patience : So finds to his comfort, that not a fatal necessity, (the melancholy doctrine of the Stoicks) but his own free-will, is the only power on which his happiness depends ; and therefore, since left to himself, his good actions will deserve praise, and his ill ones no excuse. For 'tis safer to go along with the croud in all their superstitions, than inflave one's self to that tyrant, Destiny ; because the first, as foolish as it is, will only mislead us sometimes with vain hopes of favour from the Deity, in return of our obsequious applications to him ; but the other is inflexible and inexorable.

HOWEVER, take care of falling into the contrary extream, by making fortune a deity, as the foolish people fancy ; for divine power does nothing irregular, or inconstantly. But prefer the greatest misfortune undeserved, to any advantage whatsoever that comes by injustice.

REFLECT then on these things night and day ; alone, and in company of the same disposition ; so, whether you sleep or wake, all will go easy (for even dreams partake of our daily amusements, and depend on temper) and you will live among men almost like a better sort of being : For he that passes his life in possession of these divine truths, with intire felicity, is scarce to be reckoned a humane creature.

ESSAYS.

ESSAYS

O N

FRIENDSHIP.

I AM apt to think Friendship a kind of Science; not that inclination is unnecessary in the case, but 'tis as necessary to cultivate it with a great deal of care. That which confirms me in the opinion of its being a Science, is my observing it to be almost absolutely lost, there remaining hardly a shadow of it now-a-days: For sure Nature would not decay, but is much the same in all ages.

My Lord Chancellor BACON observes very justly, that we now see nothing of it between Equals; and only a little of it sometimes where the different degrees of men render each of them useful and necessary to the other: As between a wealthy country-gentleman and his led-captain, or rather his fellow-drunkard; between a great courtier and one of his dependant flatterers; whereas inequality is quite contrary to the very nature of friendship, which like love, either finds people equal, or makes them so.

THEREFORE as that advice is now-a-days thought very wise, of trusting friends with such a reserve as may preserve us from them, when turn'd enemies; 'tis only because we suppose no real friends in so corrupt an age: For with true friendship that doctrine is inconsistent. And indeed (comparing the very best sort now, with

both the precepts and examples of former times) friendship is not the same thing which C^ICERO, and even MONTAGN so lately describe it ; and whatever the first of those was, the latter is certainly a most sincere writer : For a judicious reader may be as sure of MONTAGN's sincerity, as skilful artists are of a picture's being done by the life, when there are such natural and lively touches in it, as no man's fancy in the world can reach. But to return to friendship, I cannot presume to advise any thing ; but out of some experience I have had in Courts, I think it safer to depend on those who have oblig'd us, than on those whom we have oblig'd, though never so much.

WHENCE should this strange paradox proceed ? If it were not too common every day, an ungrateful person wou'd appear a greater monster than any man with three legs or four hands.

THIS sure, like most other faults of human nature, proceeds from Pride, which makes us ashamed of our debts even to friends, and shun the very remembrance : It makes indeed a little amends, by inciting us to oblige people sometimes, only that they may be in our debt ; for I am confident, that of ten courtesies now received, there are scarce two bestowed out of meer good-nature or friendship : And to say truth, they are most commonly returned accordingly. Yet that is but an ill excuse for ingratitude, which indeed admits of none : For by this argument, a Son would owe nothing to his Father, because he begot him only for his pleasure, and the child came out by the bye : There would be yet a greater pleasure in unbegetting such a Son, if possible.

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ONE of the reasons why our Tragedies now are so little to be valued in comparifon with those of the Ancients, is our changing this noble and almost divine subject of Friendship for soft effeminate Love-Matters: For though Love and Friendship are equally tender and touching, yet the former of these is not so heroick, or so capable of great thoughts and actions.

To conclude: The Friendship we read of in former ages, was a noble union of two worthy persons striving to out-do each other in all kind of good offices, without the least interruption to the very close of their lives, which therefore always end with honour and reputation.

O N

O N

PHILOSOPHY.

NO body has more veneration than myself for the old Philosophers : I believe human Wit is incapable of reaching higher than PYTHAGORAS, DEMOCRITUS, PLATO, and ARISTOTLE, or even GASSENDUS and DESCARTES in our days : And therefore 'tis great pity they aim'd at such sort of things as are never to be reached. SOCRATES therefore seems the wisest of them all, not purely on account of his modesty, but because he apply'd himself only to Morality, certainly the most useful of all studies : Whereas the speculations of the rest, though never so ingeniously imagin'd or agreeably express'd, are yet little better in reality than meer Romances, finely contrived and made to cohere well together, mixed with a vast deal of wit and fancy. But oh, how despicable is the folly of mankind, if this be all the wisdom of it ! If PLATO and ARISTOTLE were no wiser than to fix and imploy their minds on empty fancies, what silly creatures are the common sort of men ? If those of the greatest wit and judgment imaginable could spend all their time in gravely considering if the world had a beginning or not ; and if it had, whether it came from accident or providence ; and write whole books on such sort of subjects : 'tis a manifest proof, that
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the very best a man is able to do is only *insanire cum ratione*. All these inquiries, though made by the ablest Philosophers, are just as if a man, who cannot read a word without spectacles, should yet pretend without them to see, and shew us what they are doing in the Moon.

YET, I will allow such high speculations are pretty subjects for our thoughts and fancies, and to improve them also; as boys throwing stones at birds, will strengthen their arms though they never hit any.

ALL this consider'd; methinks, of the several Philosophers, the *Scepticks* appear the most reasonable, because the least positive: As at *Bedlam*, among such a variety of humours, if we saw one of them chide the rest for being so noisy and violent, suspecting their infirmity as well as his own; should we not think him much the best of them, and rather too sober for the rest of his companions? The *Dogmatists* object to this, that even *Scepticks* are as positive in denying the knowledge of things, as others are in the maintaining it. But I think they do them wrong; for the *Scepticks* only remain in doubt of all things, which they find themselves and all mankind besides unable to comprehend.

THE truth of the matter is; all this weakness even of those wisest men proceeds from the vanity of believing human nature capable of understanding all things: And because a Man has that troublesome faculty of amusing, and even tormenting himself sometimes with thoughts of a thousand matters which he has nothing to do with; he is presently apt to believe them all within his comprehension. Whereas a man is no more a creature fit to find out such abstruse matters, than a fish is made to play a game at bowls.

Yet

Yet I would not be understood to discourage, or the least undervalue Learning, where it tends to any manner of usefulness ; only to bridle a little that arrogant humour of imagining ourselves capable of knowing the greatest matters, when all the while we scarce understand the very smallest.

NON

O N V A N I T Y.

I AM endeavouring on all occasions that happen in conversation, to depress that foolish pride of human nature, which makes us so apt to over-value ourselves, as well as to despise all other creatures : And I grow from every dispute more confirm'd in my own opinion, by the ignorance and conceitedness I meet with in those who contradict it.

IF we could imagine a pack of hounds extremely despising the huntsmen, and firmly believing all that noise and clutter was only intended by providence to make sport for a few dogs ; the men (I suppose) would think them as ridiculous animals, as I do now the huntsmen for the same reason. Therefore, in my opinion, none of their old definitions of a rational animal, or a laughing animal, expresses the peculiar nature of man half so rightly as that of a vain animal. For though most despicable creatures ourselves, yet we go stalking up and down despising all the creation besides, and fancy it was made only for our sakes : Which is a sottish sort of arrogance, that no other creature in the world besides appears to be guilty of.

YET while I thus blame others, it occurs to my memory what PLATO so wittily reply'd to DIOGENES, trampling with his dirty feet on one
of

of his embroider'd couches, and crying out, *Thus I trample on the pride of PLATO*; who only shook his head, saying, *But with more pride thou dost it, good DIOGENES*. For I am more jealous of it in myself than in any body else, knowing how little excuse I have for it.

ON

O N

CRITICISM.

THERE have been always Criticks ; and some few good, among a great many bad ones ; but I believe there was never such an age and nation for that humour as ours is at present. In so great a town as *London* there is always a little of the Plague in some odd corner or other ; but sometimes 'tis epidemical and sweeps all away. Just so 'tis now with Criticism, which without the least distinction spares nobody. That I mean, which is vented in eating-houses, coffee-houses, and play-houses ; and is nothing in the world but a mixture of ill-nature and ignorance. But, the worst is, these bleak winds are ever blasting all our hopeful blossoms ; for they hinder the modestest and best wits from writing ; but, like winds too, they can hardly hurt what is well ripened, and come forth : For 'tis almost infallible that a real good thing will bear out it self, and in a little time get the better of all opposition. Time therefore, in all matters of writing, is the only true touchstone of merit ; which at length will prevail over all the folly and faction imaginable.

As in old *Rome*, what made such excellent orators above any since, but the universal endeavour of all mankind then to be eloquent ? So here, among so many Criticks, 'tis impossible but
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some few must be fitted by nature for such an exact judgment of things ; and it being so much the fashion, they cannot fail by art and practice to improve their talent.

THE business of a Critick is mightily mistaken among us ; for our Town-sparks think it consists in nothing but finding fault, which is but the least half of their work. Every man who drinks his pot, can judge a paultry picture in an alehouse to be worth nothing ; but how few can discern the best touches, and judge of a good collection ?

'Tis surely not undecent to mention one's self, when 'tis rather with censure than approbation. When I came first abroad into the world, being extremely young, I thought it a fine thing to laugh at every body, to shew my wit ; and fancied myself the better, as I represented others to be worse : But now I despise that affectation, which is as ridiculous, as if a Lady would sweep out the nastiness of a room, to shew her own neatness. Let the half-wits do it, 'tis their drudgery.

I CONFESS I am still very difficult in matters of writing, and seldom find any thing worth commending, because of those great Ideas I have of the Antients : Which make me yet more unsatisfied with myself than with any body else. But when I meet with any thing that deserves it, I approve it gladly, both for the justice of the thing, and because I give some proof of my own candour and easiness of humour, which (without partiality) hath nothing of the envy so common now-a-days even among our best wits. Yet perhaps this may proceed from a sort of vanity, of which I am as apt to suspect myself guilty, as any body ; knowing so well that all
sort

fort of writers, especially Poets, are too much inclined to it.

AN ill Critick is, I think, of all sorts of writers the most contemptible ; a very fop of a Wit. Yet such as Wo—y, &c. are even below that. They are no better than little dogs that bark at a traveller ; if he be such a fool to stop his journey, or so much as flash his whip at them, he'll draw on more noise, and the boys of the town to boot ; but if he rides on his way, the poor Curs sneak away home, and are no more taken notice of.

O N A U T H O R S.

TIS a strange thing to observe how very wisely and morally some men will write, and yet all the while live almost like the vulgar ; as TULLY of old, and of late my Lord BACON ; both, I believe, of as great parts and knowledge as ever any age has produced.

THEY differ in many things, but in this they are alike ; in having written so very philosophically, and almost divinely on all manner of subjects, especially morality : Yet the first was too great a flatterer of an Usurper, his Country's Tyrant, extolling him every where against his very conscience ; as appears by his railing at him as much after his death, and grieving that he had no hand in it. Also no man was so extremely sensible of any turn of fortune ; a sign of a little spirit, considering the magnanimous temper of those times. He expos'd also his vanity a little too much even for those times, when it was most in fashion ; and indeed it was a wise mode, because of the many great and good actions it produced. The other great author needs not be described, every body knowing too well how low and little he was in many things, even at his height, when Lord Chancellor of *England* ; otherwise his disgrace had never been able to deject him so much : The Sun appears as glorious at

at his setting as rising ; and I am apt to think whoever behaves himself well, and is equal to his advancement, will never appear less considerable, or be dejected with his disgrace. But, to make him some amends ; all his works are, for expression as well as thought, the glory of our nation, and of all latter ages.

'Tis therefore an amazing thing to reflect on the vast difference between the actions and writings of the same person ! 'Tis enough almost to make a man believe Inspiration : But to that the Poets only can pretend. I do not remember that any eminent one of that divine profession, fell thus short in their behaviour of their own former precepts, or acted so much contrary to them. To all this we can only say, that of Understandings, as well as Faces, there are no two in the whole world exactly alike ; and therefore in so vast a variety there must needs be some very odd and unaccountable. Yet few such wonders as these two happen, who were so often failing themselves, yet capable and worthy of instructing all mankind. Such men put me in mind of one of the best Teachers to dance in all *Paris*, who was so lame himself, that he could hardly go or stand.

THESE great Authors had done the world yet more service in their works, if they had entertain'd us with their own imperfections, and describ'd (as they could have done most admirably) that unpliability of their passions and humours, under all their learning and wisdom. But we must never expect so much sincerity in any writer, except the incomparable MONTAGN, who is like to stand alone to all posterity. Yet whenever any great Wit shall incline to the same free way of writing, I almost dare assure him of suc-

cess; for besides the agreeableness of such a book, so very sincere a temper of mind needs not blush to be exposed as naked as possible.

MONTAGN, methinks, represents ADAM in his innocence; the very first of his kind; naked, but not ashamed, because unblemished and unaffected. I know he is accused of Vanity, but (I think) without reason. And tho' he were guilty, 'tis hard not to forgive an only fault in him, and a fault which abounds so much more in all the great Wits we read of. Nay perhaps it is a fault in an author quite to want it; for why should a man set up school, if he does not own he knows more than his scholars? They'll say, you must conceal this good opinion of your self; which yet is allowing the thing, tho' not the shewing it: And that is sufficient to excuse MONTAGN, who if he had vanity, did (sure) of all the world disguise it the best; and so very well, that we see 'tis a dispute whether he had it or not? 'Tis indeed the shewing it self so grossly, that is the foolish part of vanity; and ruins the reputation it designs so much to raise. For Boasting is not only telling of Lies, but also many unseemly Truths; and that man does certainly worse who exposes his Mistress's favours, than he who pretends falsely to have received them; because they are equally vain, but the first is also ungrateful.

OF

O F

Vulgar ERRORS.

PROFANENESS in conversation passes for sprightliness and wit ; whereas 'tis only a sign of wanting both Judgment and Manners.

BEING complimentary and cringing on all occasions, passes with many for good breeding ; whereas 'tis just the contrary. For good breeding is judging well when to be formal, and when to be familiar. Too much of the first is as ridiculous on the one hand, as a Quaker's scrupling to put off his Hat, on the other ; and in my opinion the more troublesome extreme of the two.

SILENT sort of men are esteem'd generally the more judicious and thinking ; but 'tis commonly only dulness and want of thought : For imagination will hardly let the tongue lie still : Tho' if a quick sort of man can overcome his eagerness of speaking so much, he will shine the more for his not appearing to aim at it.

PHYSICIANS are commonly believ'd to be of a profession both honest and skilful ; yet their art is little better than that of a Jugler or Astrologer ; which is no art at all, but couzening the ignorant. Their whole design (generally speaking) is to to delay the *Cure*, as well as the *Death* of their

patients : So that in truth, the last of these is no less an injury than the other ; for what is Life worth, under the uneasiness of a languishing condition ? I except particular friendships, which will sometimes influence them, (and indeed even ill people :) but I think a *Salary for life* a better method than *Fees*, and wou'd more prevail upon these gentlemen to do their best ; (tho' alas, how little does their best signify ?) This is only the case in general ; for I doubt not but some Physicians are abler and honester than the rest ; and I have my self had the experience of One, whose skill, honesty, and friendship, has recovered the most valuable part of my family out of dangers in which we have almost despaired of success, and restored her to perfect health.

SURGEONS are something less respected than physicians, which is wrong ; theirs being a real art, and one of the most useful ones, if practised faithfully, (which I doubt is very seldom.)

APOTHECARIES are under-valued, but yet, when men of judgment and practice, are as useful as physicians, who either have not time, or will not give it, to attend their patients as they should do.

DIVINES are generally thought to be, and often are, Men of the best Lives ; because indeed for shame they dare hardly be otherwise : But if their Morals are well observed, I doubt they will most of them appear like other men.

GREAT gravity passes with most for wisdom, but is often dulness, sometimes affectation, at the best disagreeable.

TELLING stories well, passed for the best sort of wit in the last age, and is sometimes approved of even in this ; but 'tis more a talent of diversion than value.

A MAN's temper is more judg'd by his mien and outside, though very fallacious, than by his very behaviour it self. I have known a man thought haughty, only because he was short-sighted, and could not know people as he met them : But the same man, by mistake, would often bow to his own servants ; who knew his defect, and therefore had as little reason to think him humble, as others had to think him proud.

THE world is always inclined to think those persons vain (though never so far from it) who have either such talents, or such good fortune, as would make a great many others so. For this reason, the first thing women say of a new beauty, is, that she is proud and conceited, even before they have seen her ; because they wou'd be so in her condition.

WOMEN are thought generally by nature to be much inferior to man in Understanding ; but I believe the difference lies chiefly in education, by which they give us very great odds ; and yet I know some that can hold up the game pretty well against us.

WOMEN are believed extremely timorous too ; indeed they are so of swords and guns, because so little used to them ; but in other matters not less dangerous, we find them sufficiently hazardous. Certainly their readiness in finding excuses on the sudden, is no small proof of their resolution ; with which sort of confidence nature has armed them for their necessary defence on all occasions, especially against those dangers to which she most inclines them.

A WIFE sometimes, but a Mistress always, thinks her self undone and forsaken, if she finds a man has but once had an affair with another

woman : As if a bit or two of second course were a sign that a man wou'd never love mutton again ; whereas, perhaps it is a reason not to be nauseated even with mutton it self, though it came from *Bagshot* or *Banstead-Downs*.

MEMORY is accounted a talent opposite to Wit and Understanding, whereas indeed 'tis just the contrary. I believe the mistake arises from this : A man of sense will never tell a long story, though he should remember it never so well ; nor will such a man think many things worth his remembring, which a fool perhaps sets a value upon.

THEY are thought to have read much, who speak of it often ; which is only a sign of not digesting what they read ; just as a Man's bringing up his supper, gives a proof of his eating, but a very disagreeable one.

WHEN ambitious men are much disappointed, some of the ablest of them have been apt, out of peevishness, to give over the world : But often, a little patience is enough to bring things about again.

SOME people are troubling both themselves and others with making great feasts, which they think is living nobly, and Princes themselves are unable to escape them ; whereas a constant way of living politely, is much more estimable, as well as pleasant.

SCARCE one fat person in twenty, but makes himself appear a great deal fatter by fine clothes : And ugly women do the same by their finery.

'Tis the fashion to carve at one's own table, a terrible trouble ! which divided among the company, would be none at all to any one of them.

MUSICIANS, Painters, and even Poets, are generally thought a little fantastical ; but 'tis the
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ill ones only, that are so : The good ones in all ages have been eminently otherwise. As VIRGIL and HORACE, SPENCER, MILTON and WALLER, MALHERBE, CORNEILLE, and BOILEAU. For Painters, besides those of old, RAPHAEL and LEONARDO, TITIAN, RUBENS, and VANDIKE, all of them thoroughly accomplish'd, and fit for the greatest affairs. Musick has scarce appear'd in our climate ; but the only person remarkable for it in *France* (I mean BAPTIST) was an agreeable Wit, and all his life manag'd a great and new diversion there with credit and profit. The cause of this error is, the multitude of odd fellows inclined to some one of these three amusements, though not in the least fitted by nature for any of them ; so that being so silly as to undertake they know not what, they must needs appear fantastical, because errant coxcombs ; imploying foolishly their whole time in arts they are incapable of. That which shews so many more fops in Poetry, than in any other art or science, is very plain ; for how can the ablest Critick in that art convince the most foolish Poet of his failings ? even the most intimate acquaintance is unwilling to tell a man that he is an Ass ; which is the very case, whenever any body pretends to this accomplishment without any genius. Perhaps he may tell him that he is too lazy to be a Lawyer, too nice to be a Physician, or too gay to be a Priest : But to be told he wants either wit or judgment, goes very hard with a coxcomb.

A
L E T T E R
T O T H E
D — of Sh —

YOU accuse me of singularity in resigning the Privy Seal with a good pension added to it, and yet afterwards staying in town at a season when every body else leaves it ; which you say is despising at once both Court and Country. You desire me therefore to defend myself, if I can, by describing very particularly in what manner I spend so many hours, that appear long to you who know nothing of the matter, and yet, methinks, are but too short for me.

No part of this task which you impose, is uneasy ; except the necessity of using the singular number so often. That one Letter [I] is a most dangerous monosyllable, and gives an air of vanity to the modestest discourse whatsoever. But you will remember I write this only by way of apology ; and that, under accusation, it is allowable to plead any thing for defence, though a little tending to one's own commendation.

To begin then without more preamble : I rise, now in summer, about seven a-clock, from a
very

very large bed-chamber (intirely quiet, high, and free from the early sun) to walk in the garden ; or, if rainy, in a *Salon* filled with pictures, some good, but none disagreeable : There also, in a row above them, I have so many portraits of famous persons in several kinds, as are enough to excite ambition in any man less lazy, or less at ease, than my self.

INSTEAD of a little dozing closet (according to the unwholesome custom of most people) I chuse this spacious room, for all my small affairs, reading books or writing letters ; where I am never in the least tired, by the help of stretching my legs sometimes in so long a room, and of looking into the pleasantest park in the world just underneath it.

VISITS, after a certain hour, are not to be avoided ; some of which I own a little fatiguing (tho' thanks to the town's laziness, they come pretty late) if the garden was not so near, as to give a seasonable refreshment between those ceremonious interruptions. And I am more sorry than my coachman himself, if I am forced to go abroad any part of the morning. For though my garden is such, as by not pretending to rarities or curiosities, has nothing in it to inveagle one's thoughts ; yet by the advantage of situation and prospect, it is able to suggest the noblest that can be ; in presenting at once to view a vast Town, a Palace, and a magnificent Cathedral. I confess the last with all its splendour, has less share in exciting my devotion, than the most common shrub in my garden. For though I am apt to be sincerely devout in any sort of religious assemblies, from the very best (that of our own Church) even to those of *Jews, Turks, and Indians* : Yet the Works of nature appear to me

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the better sort of sermons; and every flower contains in it the most edifying rhetorick, to fill us with admiration of its omnipotent Creator.

AFTER I have dined (either agreeably with friends, or at worst with better company than your country-neighbours) I drive away to a

* *Marybone.* * Place of air and exercise; which some constitutions are in absolute need of: agitation of the body, and diversion of the mind, being a composition for health above all the skill of HIPPOCRATES.

THE small distance of this place from *London*, is just enough for recovering my weariness, and recruiting my spirits, so as to make me fitter than before I set out, for either business or pleasure. At the mentioning the last of these, methinks I see you smile; but I confess myself so changed [which you maliciously, I know, will call decayed] as to my former enchanting delights, that the company I commonly find at home is agreeable enough to make me conclude the evening on a delightful Terrace, or in a Place free from late visits, except of familiar acquaintance.

By this account you will see, that most of my time is conjugally spent at home; and consequently you will blame my laziness more than ever, for not employing it in a way which your partiality is wont to think me capable of. Therefore I am obliged to go on with this trifling description, as some excuse for my idleness. But how such a description itself is excusable, is what I should be very much in pain about, if I thought any body could see it besides yourself, who are too good a judge in all things to mistake a friend's compliance in a private letter, for the least touch of Vanity.

THE

THE Avenues to this house are along St. JAMES's Park, through rows of goodly Elms on one hand, and gay flourishing Limes on the other ; that for coaches, this for walking ; with the Mall lying between them. This reaches to my iron pallisade that incompasses a square court, which has in the midst a great bason with statues and water-works ; and from its entrance, rises all the way imperceptibly, 'till we mount to a Terrace in the front of a large Hall, paved with square white stones mixed with a dark-coloured marble ; the walls of it covered with a sett of pictures done in the school of RAPHAEL. Out of this, on the right hand we go into a parlour thirty three foot by thirty nine, with a nich fifteen foot broad for a Bufette, paved with white marble, and placed within an arch, with Pilasters of diverse colours, the upper part of which as high as the ceiling is painted by RICCI.

FROM hence we pass through a suite of large rooms, into a bed-chamber of thirty four foot by twenty seven ; within it a large closet, that opens into a green-house.

ON the left hand of the hall are three stone arches supported by *Corinthian* pillars, under one of which we go up eight and forty steps ten foot broad, each step of one entire *Portland-stone* : These stairs, by the help of two resting-places, are so very easy, there is no need of leaning on the iron balluster. The walls are painted with the story of DIDO ; whom though the Poet was oblig'd to dispatch away mournfully in order to make room for LAVINIA, the better-natured Painter has brought no farther than to that fatal Cave, where the Lovers appear just entering, and languishing with desire.

THE

THE roof of this stair-case, which is fifty-five foot from the ground, is of forty foot by thirty-six, filled with the figures of Gods and Goddeses; in the midst is JUNO, condescending to beg assistance from VENUS, to bring about a marriage which the fates intended should be the ruin of her own darling Queen and People. By which that sublime Poet wisely intimates, that we should never be over-eager for any thing, either in our pursuits, or our prayers; lest what we endeavour or ask too violently for our interest, should be granted us by Providence only in order to our ruin.

THE bas-reliefs and little squares above are all episodical paintings of the same story: And the largeness of the whole has admitted of a sure remedy against any decay of the colours from salt-petre in the wall, by making another of oak-laths four inches within it, and so primed over like a picture.

FROM a wide Landing-place on the stairs-head, a great double-door opens into an apartment of the same dimensions with that below, only three foot higher: Notwithstanding which, it would appear too low, if the higher *Salon* had not been divided from it. The first room of this floor has within it a closet of original pictures, which yet are not so entertaining as the delightful prospect from the windows. Out of the second room a pair of great doors give entrance into the *Salon*, which is thirty five foot high, thirty six broad, and forty five long. In the midst of its roof a round picture of GENTILESCHI eighteen foot in diameter, represents the Muses playing in consort to APOLLO, lying along on a cloud to hear them. The rest of the room is adorned with paintings relating to Arts and Sciences; and underneath divers

vers original pictures hang all in good lights, by the help of an upper row of windows, which drown the glaring.

MUCH of this seems appertaining to parade, and therefore I am glad to leave it to describe the rest, which is all for conveniency. As first, a covered-passage from the kitchen without-doors ; and another down to the cellars and all the offices within. Near this, a large and lightsome back-stairs leads up to such an entry above, as secures our private bed-chambers both from noise and cold. Here we have necessary dressing-rooms, servants rooms, and closets, from which are the pleasantest views of all the house, with a little door for communication betwixt this private apartment and the great one.

THESE stairs, and those of the same kind at the other end of the house, carry us up to the highest story, fitted for the women and children, with the floors so contrived as to prevent all noise over my wife's head, during the mysteries of LUCINA.

IN mentioning the court at first, I forgot the two wings in it, built on stone arches, which join the house by Corridores supported on Ionic pillars. In one of these wings is a large kitchen thirty foot high, with an open cupolo on the top ; near it a larder, brew-house, and landry, with rooms over them for servants : The upper sort of servants are lodged in the other wing, which has also two wardrobes and a store-room for fruit : On the top of all, a leaden cistern holding fifty tuns of water, driven up by an engine from the *Thames*, supplies all the water-works in the courts and gardens, which lie quite round the house ; through one of which a grass walk conducts to the

the stables, built round a court, with six coach-houses and forty Stalls.

I'LL add but one thing, before I carry you into the garden, and that is about walking too, but 'tis on the top of all the house ; which being covered with smooth mill'd lead, and defended by a parapet of ballusters from all apprehension as well as danger, entertains the eye with a fair distant prospect of hills and dales, and a near one of parks and gardens. To these gardens we go down from the house by seven steps, into a gravel-walk that reaches cross the whole garden, with a covered harbour at each end of it. Another of thirty foot broad leads from the front of the house, and lies between two groves of tall Lime-trees planted in several equal ranks upon a carpet of grass : the outsides of these groves are bordered with tubs of Bays and Orange-Trees.

AT the end of this broad walk, you go up to a Terrace four hundred paces long, with a large Semicircle in the middle, from whence is beheld the Queen's two parks, and a great part of *Surrey* ; then going down a few steps, you walk on the bank of a canal six hundred yards long, and seventeen broad, with two rows of Limes on each side of it.

ON one side of this Terrace, a Wall covered with Roses and Jassemines is made low, to admit the view of a meadow full of cattle just under it, [no disagreeable object in the midst of a great City] and at each end a descent into parterres, with fountains and water-works.

FROM the biggest of these parterres we pass into a little square garden, that has a fountain in
the

the middle, and two green houses on the sides, with a convenient bathing apartment in one of them ; and near another part of it lies a flower-garden. Below all this, a kitchen-garden full of the best sorts of fruit, has several walks in it fit for the coldest weather.

THUS I have done with a tedious description : Only one thing I forgot, though of more satisfaction to me than all the rest, which I fancy you guess already ; and 'tis a little closet of Books, at the end of that green-house which joins the best apartment ; which, besides their being so very near, are ranked in such a method, that by its mark a very *Irish* footman may fetch any book I want.

UNDER the windows of this closet and green-house, is a little wilderness full of black-birds and nightingales. The Trees, though planted by my self, require lopping already, to prevent their hin'dring the view of that fine canal in the *Park*.

AFTER all this, to a friend I'll expose my weakness, as an instance of the mind's unquietness under the most pleasing enjoyments. I am oftner missing a pretty gallery in the old house I pulled down, than pleased with a *Salon* which I built in its stead, tho' a thousand times better in all manner of respects.

AND now [*pour fair bonne bouche* with a grave reflection] it were well for us, if this incapacity of being intirely contented was as sure a proof of our being reserved for happiness in another world, as it is of our frailty and imperfection in this. I confess the Divines tell us so ; but though I believe a future state more firmly than a great many of them appear to do,

by their inordinate desires of the good things in this ; yet I own my faith is founded, not on those fallacious arguments of preachers, but on that adorable conjunction of unbounded power and goodness, which certainly must some way recompense hereafter, so many thousands of innocent wretches created to be so miserable here.

A

LETTER to Mr. P----,

On the late Dispute about HOMER,

YOU desire my opinion as to the late dispute in *France* concerning HOMER : And I think it excusable (at an age, alas! of not much pleasure) to amuse myself a little in taking notice of a controversy, than which nothing is at present more remarkable (even in a nation who value themselves so much upon the *Belles Lettres*) both on account of the illustrious subject of it, and of the two persons engaged in the quarrel.

THE one, is extraordinary in all the Lyrick-kind of Poetry, even in the opinion of his very adversary. The other, a Lady (and of more value for being so) not only of great Learning, but with a Genius admirably turn'd to that sort of it which most becomes her Sex, for softness, gentleness,, and promoting of virtue : And such as (one would think) is not so liable as other parts of scholarship, to rough disputes, or violent animosity.

YET it has so happen'd that no writers, even about Divinity it self, have been more outrageous or uncharitable than these two polite authors ; by suffering their judgments to be a little warped (if I may use that expression) by the heat of their eager

inclinations, to attack or defend so great an Author under debate : I wish, for the sake of the publick, which is now so well entertain'd by their quarrel, it may not end at last in their agreeing to blame equally a third man, who is so presumptuous as to censure both, if they should chance to hear of it.

To begin with matter of fact. M. D'ACIER has well judg'd, that the best of all Poets certainly deserv'd a better translation, at least into *French* prose, because to see it done in verse was despair'd of : I believe indeed from a defect in that language, incapable of mounting to any degree of excellence suitable to so very great an undertaking.

SHE has not only perform'd this task as well as prose can do it, (which is indeed but as the wrong side of tapestry is able to represent the right) she has added to it also many learned and useful annotations. With all which she most obligingly delighted not only her own sex, but most of ours, ignorant of the *Greek*, and consequently her adversary himself, who frankly acknowledges that ignorance.

'Tis no wonder therefore if in doing this, she is grown so enamour'd of that unspeakably-charming Author, as to have a kind of horror at the least mention of a man bold enough to blame him.

Now as to M. DE LA MOTTE, he being already deservedly famous for all sorts of Lyrick poetry, was so far introduc'd by her into those beauties of the Epick kind, (though but in that way of translation) as not to resist the pleasure and hope of reputation by attempting that in verse which had been applauded so much for the difficulty of doing even in prose ; knowing how this, well executed, must extremely transcend the other.

BUT,

BUT, as great Poets are a little apt to think they have an ancient right of being excus'd for vanity on all occasions ; he was not content to out-do M. D'ACIER, but endeavour'd to out-do HOMER himself, and all that ever in any age or nation went before him in the same enterprize ; by leaving out, altering, or adding whatever he thought best.

AGAINST this presumptuous attempt, HOMER has been in all times so well defended, as not to need my small assistance ; yet I must needs say, his excellencies are such, that for their sakes, he deserves a much gentler touch for his few seeming errors. These, if M. DE LA MOTTE had translated as well as the rest, with an apology for having retain'd 'em only out of meer veneration ; his judgment in my opinion would have appear'd much greater than by the best of his alterations, though I admit them to be written very finely.

I JOIN with M. DE LA MOTTE in wondering at some odd things in HOMER, but 'tis chiefly because of his sublime ones, I was about to say his divine ones, which almost surprize me at finding him any where in the fallible condition of human nature.

AND now we are wond'ring, I am in a difficulty to guess, what can be the reason of all these exceptions against HOMER, from one who has himself translated him, contrary to the general custom of translators. Is there not a little of that in it ? I mean the desire to be singular in getting above the title of a translator, though sufficiently honourable in this case. For such an ambition nobody has less occasion, than one who is so fine a poet in other kinds ; and who must have too much wit to believe, any alterations of another can intitle him to the denomination of an *Epick*

Poet himself : Though no man in this age seems more capable of being a good one, if the *French* tongue would bear it. Yet in his translation he has done too well, to leave any doubt (with all his faults) that her's can be ever parallell'd with it.

BESIDES, he could not be ignorant, that finding faults is the most easy and vulgar part of a critick ; whereas nothing shews so much skill and taste both, as the being thoroughly sensible of the sublimest excellencies.

WHAT can we say in excuse of all this, but *Humanum est errare* ? Since as good a Poet as I believe the *French* language is capable of, and as sharp a Critick as any nation can produce, has by too much censuring HOMER, subjected a translation to censure, that would have otherwise stood the test of the severest adversary.

BUT since he would needs chuse that wrong way of criticism, I wonder he miss'd a stone so ready to be thrown against HOMER, for his filling the Iliad not only with so much slaughter, (for that is to be excused, since a War is not capable of being described without it) but with so many various particulars of wounds and horror, as shew the writer, I am afraid, so delighted that way himself, as not the least to doubt his reader being so also. Like SPANIOLETTA, whose dismal pictures are the more disagreeable for being always so very movingly painted. Even HECTOR's last parting from his son and ANDROMACHE, hardly makes us amends for his body's being dragg'd thrice round the town. M. DE LA MOTTE in his strongest objection about that dismal combat, has sufficient cause to blame his inrag'd adversary, who here gives an instance that it is impossible to be violent without committing some mistake ; her passion for HOMER blinding her too much to perceive

perceive the very grossest of his failings. By which warning I am become a little more capable of impartiality, tho' in a dispute about that very poet for whom I have the greatest veneration.

M. D'ACIER might have considered a little, that whatever were the motives of M. DE LA MOTTE to so bold a proceeding, it could not darken that fame which I am sure she thinks shines securely even after the vain attempts of PLATO himself against it; Caus'd only perhaps by a like reason with that of Madam D'ACIER's anger against M. DE LA MOTTE, namely, the finding that in prose his genius (great as it was) could not be capable of the sublime heights of poetry, which therefore he banish'd out of his commonwealth.

NOR were these objections to HOMER any more lessening of her merit in translating him as well as that way is capable of, *viz.* fully, plainly, and elegantly, than the most admirable verses can be any disparagement to as excellent prose.

THE best excuse for all this violence is, its being in a cause which gives a kind of reputation even to suffering, by never so ill a management of it.

THE worst of defending even HOMER in such a passionate manner, is its being more a proof of her weakness, than of his being liable to none. For what is it can excuse HOMER any more than HECTOR, for flying at the first sight of ACHILLES? whose terrible aspect sure needed not such an inexcuseable fright to set it off; and methinks all that account of MINERVA's restoring his dart to ACHILLES, comes a little too late, for excusing HECTOR's so terrible apprehension at the very first.

...the very ground of his position. By which
...I am bound to leave more open to
...the, in a dispute about that very point
...I have the greatest reason.
...Mr. D. Acton must have considered a thing
...that whatever were the motives of Mr. D. A.
...to hold a speech, it could not
...that there were some of the things which
...even when the very nature of the
...that could not be put out of the
...that of Mr. D. Acton's
...as a thing, it is not
...in his nature (as it was) could
...of the highest of power,
...the fact of his being out of the country.

...were not only objections to his own
...of his own in the same way as
...as well as that way is capable of, viz. fully, plain-
ly, and elegantly, that the most admirable, various
...to an excellent point.
...a self-willed, all his violence
...a great deal of reputation
...to his own management.

...The world of education even in the
...a passionate manner, is in being more a proof of
...than of his being able to know
...is a true extent of his own power
...the fact of his being able to know
...that terrible aspect of the world
...is in fact to be in fact, and in fact
...that account of his own power
...to Acton, comes a little too late, it is even
...of the fact of his being able to know

A
CHARACTER
OF
JOHN SHEFFIELD

Late DUKE of
BUCKINGHAMSHIRE;
WITH AN
ACCOUNT *of the* PEDIGREE
OF THE
SHEFFIELD-FAMILY:

To which is Annex'd,
HIS GRACE's
LAST WILL *and* TESTAMENT,
Written with his Own Hand.

A
CHARACTER
OF
JOHN SHEFFIELD
Late Duke of
BUCKINGHAM AND SHIRE;
WITH AN
ACCOUNT of the PEDIGREE
OF THE
SHEFFIELD FAMILY:
To which is Annex'd
HIS GRACE'S
LAST WILL and TESTAMENT,
Written with his Own Hand.

A SHORT
 CHARACTER
 OF
 JOHN SHEFFIELD,

Duke of BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.

THE Design of this Character is to give some Idea of the *Person* and *Disposition* of JOHN SHEFFIELD, Duke of *Buckinghamshire*. As to his *Understanding*, his own Writings, join'd with the Opinion of the best Judges (which appear together in this Edition) will be a sufficient Testimony of it; tho', as these were compos'd meerly for Amusement, and sometimes even with negligence, so certainly it is not from hence that we are to measure the reach and extent of his Capacities, which are yet better known by the large share he had in the Administration of Publick Affairs, and by the figure he made in the Councils, and in the Parliaments of his time, during so long a course of Life, and so great a variety of Events. I design only, by giving an Image of his private Life, and by setting down a few Facts, to counter-balance the Malice of those ill-grounded Calumnies which are usually thrown upon the Actions and Characters of

of the greatest Persons, by such, as being incapable of a worthy Emulation to imitate, turn all their Thoughts to asperse and misrepresent them.

THE Duke of BUCKINGHAM was tall; and tho' he was not perhaps the most exactly shap'd, being thought a little too long-waisted, and rather too narrow in his chest and shoulders, yet all together, he look'd more like a Man of Quality than most of those of his rank who liv'd at the same time with him. Sitting in a coach, or standing in a room, without the blue ribbon, or any other ornament of dress, he had an air of grandeur, which gave you an impression he was of more than common quality. He was allow'd to be handsome, his Face being a regular oval, and all the features of it well-proportion'd. His countenance had an extraordinary sweetness, joined with a lively and penetrating look, which, at first sight, struck you with an Idea of that great understanding of which he gave the world such various Proofs. He had one thing very particular, that laughing heartily, which is seldom advantageous to any body, was in him uncommonly agreeable. And as it was generally allow'd that no body exceeded him in Person, when young; so few, if any, were ever so agreeable when old.

THE Duke's father died when he was but nine years old; and his mother (tho' so sincerely affected by his death, as to fall into a violent fit of sickness) yet marrying again, the care of his education was left to a Governor only. He was a learned man, but too much neglected the studies of his Pupil, either from too great an application to his own, or from a fault in Governors, which often turns to the misfortune of young Noblemen, too much compliance in humouring those by whom they hope afterwards to advance their Fortunes,

tunes. A trifling thing happen'd when they went first to *France*, which very much lessen'd his Authority with the Duke. The Governor advis'd him in the strongest terms to avoid kneeling to the *Host*, if he should meet it in a Procession; representing it as an act of direct idolatry, which a Protestant ought to suffer death itself rather than commit. Very soon after, they met a Procession at the corner of a street; he made the utmost effort to step aside into a shop, but tumbled over his Governor, who was fallen on his Knees the first moment: with this his Governor seldom fail'd to be reproached, when he was over-strict in his advices and corrections, which were probably of very little weight with him for the future.

WHEN, two or three years after, he was separated from him, he soon found, upon conversing with the greatest Genius's of the Age, that he had not been fully instructed in many parts of Literature; and resolv'd to begin then to inform himself in what he perceiv'd he was deficient. In order to do this the better, he shut himself up several hours in a day from his pleasures and his friends; and by some years application in that manner, improv'd himself to the degree of learning he arriv'd at.

NOTWITHSTANDING he had then an Estate upon which most young men would have liv'd idly and pleasantly, he offer'd himself to go a Volunteer at Sea, in the second *Dutch War*, and was in that great Sea-fight where the Duke of *York* was Admiral. He behav'd himself so much to his Satisfaction, that when the Ship call'd *the Royal Catherine* became vacant by the loss of its Captain, the Duke of *YORK* got it for this young Volunteer. He has often said, he was never so much delighted by any favours afterwards receiv'd

receiv'd from the Court, as he was at that early mark of distinction.

AFTERWARDS *England* being at peace with every body, he ask'd leave to make a Campaign in the *French* Service under Monsieur DE TURRENNE, which he accordingly did.

SOME time after, there came to Court an account that *Tangier* (which was then a favourite place, and was Queen KATHERINE's Portion) was in danger to be taken by the *Moors*. The Earl of MULGRAVE (then Lord of the bed-chamber to King CHARLES) offer'd to go and command the forces which were sent to defend it; which was accepted of, and preparations made for that Expedition. Yet, as every one who is not insignificant at Court, must have enemies in it, the Earl of MULGRAVE had several; some of whom took an opportunity, at that juncture, to put King CHARLES out of humour, by insinuating stories of him, relating to some Ladies in whom the King was not unconcern'd. By this and other contrivances it happen'd that all the good Ships were otherways imploy'd; and that which was appointed to convey the General of the forces was in such a condition, that the Captain of her declar'd, he was afraid to undertake the voyage in her. Upon this representation, the Lord MULGRAVE apply'd both to the Admiralty and the King himself: The first said the ship was safe enough, and no other could be then procur'd. The King, either from laziness of temper, did not enough examine into the matter; or just then was more indifferent than he us'd to be about my Lord's safety; but said, he hop'd the ship appointed might do well enough; that no other was to be got so soon as was requisite for him to set sail. He was in that disagreeable extremity, either

ther to go in a ship, which, in all probability, would founder, or to refuse going on an Expedition which he was so far engag'd in, that his enemies would not fail to represent it as a meer excuse. At last he resolv'd, contrary to the advice of all his friends, to venture himself, as he actually did, but at the same time advis'd several Volunteers of distinction not to accompany him, since their honour was not so much concern'd as his own. Some of these wisely took his advice, others would venture, having once declar'd they design'd it. And in particular, a natural son of King CHARLES, who was Earl of PLIMOUTH, a very gallant man, piqu'd himself upon running the risque of one who went to serve his Father, and yet was us'd so oddly by the ill offices of his Ministers. Providence favour'd them so much, that they had the finest weather imaginable during the voyage, which held three weeks; but in two days after they set sail, the ship leak'd in so many places, tho' they had carpenters aboard, they were forc'd to pump the whole remainder of the voyage. When they got to *Tangier*, they met Admiral HERBERT, afterwards Earl of TORRINGTON, who lifted up his eyes and hands, at their having past such a voyage in a ship which he had sent home as unfit for Service.

THE *Moors* retir'd on the approach of the King's forces; and after the Earl of MULGRAVE had staid there a sufficient time, to be sure there would be no attempt made that year, upon examining with others, officers and engineers, the condition of the fortifications, they all agreed there still requir'd the expence of a vast sum of money to render that place for any time defensible. So it was thought better for *England*, by some at Court, (which had already spent much upon it to
little

little purpose) rather to blow it up, which was done. One thing remarkable happen'd during the voyage to *Tangier*, that tho' the King's son was on board, his Majesty's health was not once drank at the General's table ; which after a week's time, one of the company (thinking it was forgetfulness) put Lord MULGRAVE in mind of : He answer'd, smiling, that he knew it very well, but he must first get out of his rotten ship, before he could make that health go merrily round. He return'd in a strong man of war, which was order'd by Admiral HERBERT ; and after some time, King CHARLES's anger blew over, from his usual good nature ; the Earl forgot the ill Ship he was sent in, and continu'd favour'd by that Prince to his death.

DURING the short Reign of JAMES II. he remain'd in several great Posts, till that unfortunate Prince was dethron'd by the contrivance of those he trusted most, the well-meant zeal of his own children, and a desire in his subjects to mend their circumstances by a change of government. But as undoubtedly several unjustifiable as well as imprudent measures were taken by that Court, the Earl of MULGRAVE constantly and zealously advis'd against 'em ; which made the King cooler to him for a year before the Revolution ; tho' from a Justice in that Prince's temper, he did not turn him out of his employments. And when his misfortunes did fall upon him, the Earl of MULGRAVE had the inward satisfaction to know, that he never gave him any advice but what would have conduced to the avoiding them, had he been pleas'd to have follow'd it ; and at the same time he had both the honour and comfort to be none of those, who being intrusted in his service, held private cabals for bringing on his ruin. When
the

the King was gone over to *France*, Lord MULGRAVE, tho' well receiv'd by King WILLIAM (whom he pay'd his respects to before he had that title) yet accepted of no employment till some years were past.

WHEN affairs were come to have no other dispute in Parliament, but whether the *Prince of ORANGE* should be proclaim'd King, or the Princess his Wife reign solely in her own Right, the Earl both voted and spoke for the former; for which he has own'd to his friends he had these motives: He thought the title of either person was equal; and since the Parliament was to decide the matter, he judg'd it would much better please that Prince, who was now become their Protector, and was also in itself a thing more becoming so good a Princess as Queen MARY, to partake with her Husband a Crown so obtain'd, than to possess it entirely as her own. However, that part of Lord MULGRAVE's oblig'd the King, who had the success of having that advantage over his Wife much at heart.

HE had a dexterity in generally getting the better at Court of his enemies, and was often more in favour for a time, than they who were the most servile flatterers; yet neither when he was in or out of employment, ever omitted acting, voting and speaking for what he judg'd most conducive to the publick good.

HE was one of the most active and zealous opposers of the Bill which took away Sir JOHN FENWICK's life, because he thought the practice of making Bills on purpose to punish, put one subject too much in the power of his fellow-subjects, who, if possess'd of the Ear of too easy and good a King, may confound the Ministers enemies with his majesty's; and having the ma-

nagement of 'em left in their power, under pretence of serving him, revenge their private Quarrels at the expence of the Liberties, Fortunes, and sometimes, Lives of his People.

HE was also one of the most active and zealous in the house of Peers, in procuring and carrying through those two admirable bills, *the Treason-bill*, and that for *Triennial Parliaments*, for which he made very bold and excellent speeches, but which we have not the good fortune to find taken in short-hand by any we know : And as he had a quickness of thought which made him never make any premeditated speeches, and a modesty which made him leave no traces of any of 'em in writing, we have never been able to preserve above two, which are printed amongst his other Works. During the time that one of the fore-mention'd bills (I forgot which) was in a likely way to pass the houses, King WILLIAM sent one day for the Earl of MULGRAVE ; and after some little discourse, offer'd to give him an additional title, with an annual pension of 3000 pounds, and to make him of the cabinet-council. The Earl gave him many thanks for his intended favours, and ask'd, with humblest submission, what his majesty expected from him in return ; adding, that he could not deny but that he was engag'd in assisting those bills which his Majesty did not at present approve of ; he was sorry his Majesty did not, but whether he had the honour or not of serving him, he could not give them up, but must assist their success to his utmost ability. The King seem'd a little surpriz'd ; but as that Prince was a very good Politician, he chang'd the discourse, and settled his countenance into a seeming good humour : He then told him, that upon hearing he was not much satisfy'd, for some time before

I

King

King JAMES left *England*, with the measures then taken, a person whom he had employ'd to consult and treat with those Lords who invited him to come over, propos'd at one of their meetings to bring over Lord MULGRAVE, and to communicate their design to him; upon which the Earl of SHREWSBURY said, *If you do, you'll spoil all, he'll never join with us.* The King telling him this Story, ask'd with a smile, Pray, my Lord, what would you have done, if my agent had acquainted you with the whole business? Sir, said the Lord MULGRAVE, *I should have discovered it to the Master I serv'd.* The King reply'd, *I cannot blame you*; and 'tis probable, lik'd him the better for it. For tho' he did not then confer upon him the favours he mention'd, sometime in his reign he had them all, and was generally pretty well in his favour and confidence, tho' the bills he did not like, had success, and pass'd both in the houses of Parliament.

IN Queen ANNE's reign he was made Duke of BUCKINGHAM, and was at some times more in favour than at others, tho' I think he was but once out of his employment, and then he resign'd it himself in the following manner. He was Lord Privy-seal, when the Duke of MARLBOROUGH and Lord GODOLPHIN began to grow more inclin'd to the Whig than to the Tory party, to which they had been long thought firmly attach'd. The truth is, it was then, as 'tis too often the custom of the Tories, to take a humour of disobliging their most considerable friends upon the least odd opinion infus'd into 'em, either by some treacherous pretended friend, or by some worthless companion of their table-meetings. They all of a sudden concurr'd in refusing their assent to settle a Revenue of 5000 Pounds

per Annum on the Duke of MARLBOROUGH, upon his success with the *English* Armies, without ever reflecting he had in his own hands the power of doing himself much more good, and them the hurt which afterwards follow'd; the Whigs (who know always how to play prudently their Game) being brought in, and themselves turn'd out. The Duke of BUCKINGHAM saw their mistake in point of Politicks; but they were by fits and starts so afraid of being thought govern'd, that they would not be advis'd for their own good, which generally ended in their falling into distress and confusion; when, considering their number, their fortunes, and the good sense of some of them, nothing but their frequent want of unanimity, their not always adhering to their most valuable friends, but advising with the worst or weakest of their party, together with that particular humour of dispersing themselves into the Country about their private Affairs or Pleasures, before the Business of the Sessions was ended, (which they always concluded, and always were mistaken in) nothing else, I say, could make them so useless at once, to themselves and others.

WHEN the Duke saw all the measures, form'd and begun against the Tory party, by the two chief people in power with the Queen, the Duke of MARLBOROUGH and the Lord Treasurer GODOLPHIN, being sensible he could never overbalance that power, he resolv'd to resign the Seals; and accordingly brought them one day to the Queen. She desir'd he would consider better of what he was doing, and take two or three days for that purpose. In obedience to the Queen's commands, the Duke carry'd home the Seals. The next day the Queen sent for him, and told him, that notwithstanding he seem'd so discon-

discontented with her measures as to be unwilling to serve her longer, yet as a farther mark of her good-will towards him, she design'd to make him *Lord Chancellor* ; adding farther, that he had still two old friends to serve with him, meaning Lord GODOLPHIN, and the Duke of MARLBOROUGH. The Chancellor's place was a revenue of 9000 pounds *per ann.* and as it depended more on reasoning and equity than upon Law, it was what by his experience of causes in the house of Peers, it would not have been difficult to execute : But however he did not accept that Employment, nor kept his own ; and that day he intirely resign'd the Seals.

HE was some time out of any employment at Court, and refrain'd even from passing his Compliments there till the marriage of his third Wife, the Countess of ANGLESEY, a natural Daughter of King JAMES II. upon which he went to kiss the Queen's Hand.

SOME years after, either from good reasons, or the changeableness of our Climate, the then favourites with the Queen began to lose ground ; and Mr. HARLEY, since Earl of OXFORD, and Lord Treasurer, made the proper use of those Circumstances : Yet wanting some assistance, he apply'd to the Duke of BUCKINGHAM. The Duke, who was not then on good terms with Mr. HARLEY, at first did not much mind his Proposal, but afterwards join'd with him and others, which ended in removing first the Dutchess and the Duke of MARLBOROUGH ; and bringing in the Duke and Dutchess of SOMERSET, Mr. HARLEY, and the Earl of SHREWSBURY, the Duke of BUCKINGHAM, and Mr. ST. JOHN since Lord Viscount BOLINGBROOK.

THE Duke of BUCKINGHAM kept his employments till the Queen's death, tho' he was truly or falsely inform'd there was amongst some of her Ministers, a little before her death, a scheme laid to get him out; tho' there could be no good reason for it, but because he did not heartily join in speaking ill and doing ill offices, according to the usual custom, to the Favourite disgrac'd, I mean the Earl of OXFORD: And the truth was, that direct gratitude kept the Duke from acting that part, which would have pleas'd the then Ministers; because, since the Duke's reconciliation with that Lord on their being together engag'd in the Ministry, he had receiv'd, on his own account, and his friends, several good offices from him. Yet in the time of their being Ministers together, tho' they never fell out, they were not constantly of one mind. The Duke on one great occasion differ'd from him and the rest of the Ministers, except the Lord BOLINGBROOK, who, I believe, was of his opinion in that Affair. It was in relation to the poor *Catalonians*, whose interests he thought were too much sacrific'd to the Peace with *Spain*: he thought no sort of terms ought to be agreed on, without first securing the lives and liberties of those poor people, who had entirely rely'd on *England* for protection. He got two Councils appointed to debate that matter over again before the Queen, when it had been in a manner determin'd the other way. And when all his arguments prov'd unsuccessful, he was never observ'd to be so much troubled at the ill success of any business of his own, because he took Humanity itself, as well as the Honour of his Country, and of the Mistress he served, to be highly concern'd in that affair.

AFTER

AFTER what we have said of the Duke's conduct in relation to publick affairs, it will be proper to speak of his private character and temper ; which in some respects was prodigiously mistaken, or misrepresented. He was reported not to be good-natur'd ; and to be very haughty and proud : Whereas he was really good-natur'd. Even upon seeing in the streets any real object of compassion, he has, several times, been touch'd to a degree of bringing tears into his Eyes. He was affected in the same manner, upon reading a melancholick Story, or hearing of any friendly and generous Behaviour.

IT must be own'd that sometimes he was inclin'd, when any thing had put him out of humour, to be a little passionate and quick upon People who had not occasion'd it. This was now and then the case of his most familiar Friends, or of Gentlemen who came freely to visit him. But when any thing of this kind had happen'd, he never was at ease till he had made them some amends, either by doing them some good office, or by saying to them something full as extraordinary, or more in the way of obliging them, than what had pass'd before to their dissatisfaction.

WHEN he was by his equals disoblig'd, or even by his King, to his thinking, not well treated, he carry'd it pretty high, till he had got the better of the first, and prevail'd on the other to change his Proceedings more to his satisfaction. But except upon such occasions, no man on earth could carry himself with more good breeding and humanity. And in all his conversations with his Inferiors, you could not think he judg'd there was any difference betwixt him and them. He would talk as familiarly to his servants as if he was not their master ; and often said, *I was angry*

at you a little time ago, but I don't mean half the things I say in passion, when perhaps he had been a little rougher to them, than the kind of faults that had been committed, really deserv'd; A thing common enough for men to do, but not to own so easily, and make amends for, by so good-natur'd an acknowledgment.

HE was by many thought not to have made a very good Husband to his first and second Wives. But 'tis hard to be sure of the truth of such reports. He never had any children by them. The second Wife had by a former husband two daughters, whom he always treated with the greatest respect and kindness, as themselves have always acknowledged: And after her death, he contributed to marry one of her daughters to one of the best matches in the Kingdom. The other, tho' she had the same advantage of fortune, was not so well disposed of by her own grand-father.

THE liberties which he had allow'd himself in relation to ladies, are too well known, to be omitted in his Character. But this ought to be remark'd as a proof of his good sense, that none of his mistresses could ever prevail upon him to marry foolishly, or ever gain'd too great an ascendant over him. And he has often express'd, some years before he died, a good deal of concern for that kind of libertinism, into which an impetuosity of temper too much neglected in his Education, together with the prevailing fashion of that Court in which he liv'd, had too often hurry'd him.

HE left many natural children, which he had and own'd before his third Marriage: And he has been often heard to say since he had legitimate children, he wish'd he had never had the others,

or

or at least had not own'd them ; it being in private families an ill example.

HE was by his worst enemies allow'd to have liv'd always very kindly with his last Wife, by whom he had several sons and daughters, tho' at his death he left but one son alive. Whenever she was very ill or in danger (which generally happen'd when she was with child, or at her lying-in) he shew'd all possible marks of concern : and when there was more than ordinary danger, his servants often found him on his knees at prayers : And on those occasions he has made vows, in case she recover'd, to give in charities, sometimes two hundred, sometimes three hundred pounds at a time, which he perform'd punctually. And I have been credibly inform'd, that the Dutchess herself has said, that whenever they have had any difference, (which in twelve or thirteen years marriage must sometimes happen) and he has been in a little passion, because he could not bring her to think just as he did, if she left the room to give him time to cool, he cou'd never stay till supper-time, tho' pretty near, nor till she returned back of herself into his room, but constantly left his books or business to come after her, and said, *Child, you and I should never fall out ; and tho' I still think my self in the right, yet you shall have it your way :* Which was accordingly done ; and then he was in as good a humour as if nothing had happen'd.

HE was thought to be too saving in money-matters. But that opinion was occasion'd by little trifling Accidents, or rather an humour which indiscreet people knew not how to manage : For in reality, he was not to be called covetous. Here are some evident proofs of it. He always paid to the last Dutchess her Pin-money to a day ;

day ; and notwithstanding some ill accidents in his Fortune might have justified an omission or delay, when her pension from the Crown of 1200 pounds *per ann.* part of the provision made for her by King JAMES II. (the Payment of which, by the ill offices of a Favourite at Court, had been for some time discontinu'd) when by a just representation to the Queen by Lord Treasurer OXFORD, that Pension began to be repay'd, he always brought the money to her, desiring her to take what part of it she pleas'd for her own use ; of which she always took one third.

ANOTHER instance in which many people, esteem'd more generous than he, are wanting to their Families, was, that he always took care to have an eminent physician to attend on his Wife all the time she went with child, and during her lyings-in ; having besides advis'd to secure his constant care and attendance upon his only son.

BUT the strongest Indication of his neglecting money-matters, even too much, was his having lost a great part of his fortune meerly through an indolence and unwillingness to take the pains to visit his Estates at some distance from *London*, in the space of forty years.

IN a word, he was a good husband, a just and tender father, a constant zealous friend, and one may add, the most agreeable of companions.

BUT let me conclude with that part of his Character which must be confest in this age to be very exemplary. Tho' he was so often in great Places at Court, yet he never acted in any post, but as it seem'd to him consistent with the Good of his Country : Even when it was most against the humour of his Prince, he never fail'd either to declare his dissent in speeches, or to enter his Protests in form. And he often lost and gave up

up his Places on this very score. He could never be accus'd of having once given an ill Vote in Parliament, or of ever acting contrary to the true interest of the party of which he profess'd himself, tho' he would not always be a slave to their judgment, much less to their humour or passion. So that the Character Mr. *Dryden* gave of him very early, was verify'd to the last :

———*In Council or Debate*

True to his Prince, but not a Slave of State.

A N
 ACCOUNT *of the* PEDIGREE
 OF THE
 SHEFFIELD-FAMILY,

*The only remaining Male-Heir being ED-
 MUND Duke of Buckinghamshire, an
 Infant, from JOHN SHEFFIELD, and
 CATHERINE Dutcheſs his Wife,
 Daughter to King JAMES II.*

THE first Ancestor of this ancient Family, we have any account of, is Sir ROBERT SHEFFIELD, Knight, who liv'd in the reign of HENRY III. He having marry'd FELIX Daughter and Heireſs of ——— TERNEBY, had by her ROBERT SHEFFIELD, Esq; whose Wife was AGNES, Daughter and Coheireſs to Sir SIMON GOWER, Knight, and by her he had ROBERT his Heir and Successor.

ROBERT who succeeded, was Knighted by King EDWARD I. and marry'd JANET, Daughter and Coheireſs to ALEXANDER LOWND of Butterwick, with whom he had that Manor. He had by her a Son nam'd ROBERT, whose Wife was ELEANOR, Daughter and Heireſs to THO-
 MAS

MAS BURNHAM, and was succeeded by ROBERT his Son.

THIS ROBERT marry'd CATHERINE, Daughter and Coheiress to Sir ROBERT BELTOFT, Knight, and by her had A SON OF HIS NAME, whose Wife was MARGARET, Daughter to Sir THOMAS STAUNTON of the County of *York*, Knight, and by her had ROBERT SHEFFIELD, Esq; who marry'd ISOLDE, Daughter and Heiress to Sir ULSTER MOYNE, and by her had ROBERT his Son and Heir.

THIS ROBERT in the 2d of HENRY VII. was one of the Commanders in that King's Army against the Earl of LINCOLN and his adherents, in the Battle of *Stoke*, near *Newark*, where he shar'd the honour of that Victory, and afterwards was Speaker of the House of Commons, and Recorder of *London*, being then Sir ROBERT SHEFFIELD, Knight. He came to have his family-seat at *Butterwick*, in the County of *Lincoln*, from *Hemmeswell*, in the Isle of *Axholme*, in the same County.

BY HELEN his Wife, Daughter and Heiress to Sir JOHN DELVES, he had Sir ROBERT SHEFFIELD of *Butterwick*, Knight, who marry'd MARGARET, the Daughter of Sir JOHN ZOUCHE of *Codnor*, and had by her EDMUND, his Son and Heir, who in the first of EDWARD VI. (two days preceding that King's Coronation) was advanc'd to the Dignity of a Baron of this Realm, by the title of LORD SHEFFIELD OF BUTTERWICK. But upon an Insurrection of the Commons of *Norfolk*, the next ensuing year, he being one of the Nobles that accompanied the Marquis of NORTHAMPTON for the suppressing thereof, had the hard Fate there to lose his Life; for his Horse falling into a Ditch near *Norwich*, and thereupon pulling off his Helmet, to shew those

those Rebels who he was, a Butcher slew him with his Club.

By ANNE his Wife, Daughter of JOHN VERE, the fifth of that Name, Earl of OXFORD, he left Issue JOHN, his Heir and Successor, and three Daughters; FRANCES, married to ——— MERTHAM, Esq; ELEANOR, to DENZIL HOLLES, second Son to Sir WILLIAM HOLLES, of *Houghton* in the County of *Nottingham*, Knight, and ELIZABETH. This JOHN died *an.* 1568. (11 ELIZ.) leaving Issue by DOWGLASS his Wife, Daughter to WILLIAM Lord HOWARD of EFFINGHAM, EDMUND his Son and Heir; and ELIZABETH, married to THOMAS Earl of ORMOND.

WHICH EDMUND, in the 25th of ELIZ. was one of the *English* Lords, that by the express command of that Queen, attended the Duke of ANJOU (who had staid three months in *England*, as a Suitor to her) to *Antwerp*. And *an.* 1588, (31 ELIZ.) was in that notable Sea-fight against the *Spaniards*, who then threatned to invade *England*; and for his valiant deportment, and memorable Service therein, was Knighted by the Lord Admiral. After this, he was made Governor of the *Briel*, a chief Town in *Zealand*; and in the 39th of ELIZ. surrendring his Trust there, Sir FRANCIS VERE succeeded him therein. He was afterwards made Knight of the Garter in that Queen's reign; and in the 14th of JAMES I. constituted President of the Council, for the northern parts of *England*. And by CHARLES I. was created *Earl of MULGRAVE*. By his first Wife URSULA, the Daughter of Sir ROBERT TIRWHIT, he had six Sons; first CHARLES, who died unmarried; 2d, Sir JOHN SHEFFIELD; 3d, EDMUND; 4th, WILLIAM, drown'd

drown'd in *France*; 5th, PHILIP, (Sir JOHN, EDMUND and PHILIP were unfortunately drown-ed in the passage of *Whitgift* Ferry, over the River *Humber*) and the 6th Son GEORGE broke his Neck in a new Riding-house, which his Father had made out of an old consecrated Chapel, as says Sir WILLIAM DUGDALE.

He also had, by the aforesaid URSULA his Wife nine Daughters; 1st, MAGDALEN married to WALTER WALSH an *Irishman*; 2d, ELIZABETH, married first to Sir EDWARD SWIFT, Knight, afterwards to Sir JOHN BOURCHIER, Knight, 3d, MARY, to Sir FERDINANDO FAIRFAX, Knight, Son and Heir to the Lord FAIRFAX of *Cameron*, in the Kingdom of *Scotland*; 4th, FRANCES, married to Sir PHILIP FAIRFAX, Knight, Brother of the said Sir FERDINAND; 5th, DOWGLASS; 6th, TRIPHEMA, to GEORGE, a younger Son to Sir HUGH VERNEY, Knight; also DOROTHY, URSULA, and ANNE.

His second Wife was MARIANA, Daughter to Sir WILLIAM URWYN, Knight, by whom he had Issue three Sons, and two Daughters; JAMES, THOMAS, and ROBERT; MARGARET, and SARAH.

To him succeeded EDMUND his Grandson, the Son of Sir JOHN SHEFFIELD, eldest of the four that were drown'd, by GREFIELD his Wife, Daughter to Sir EDMUND ANDERSON, sometime Chief-Justice of the Common-Pleas.

THIS EDMUND married ELIZABETH, daughter to LEONEL, or LIONEL, Earl of MIDDLESEX, and died coming up to *London*, an. 1658, leaving issue by his said Wife, JOHN, his Son and Heir. Which JOHN has been a Person of the highest Accomplishments, excellently vers'd in Learning and good Letters; and not only a great
Encourager

Encourager of Poetry, but a principal Ornament of it himself : Of whose Writings Mr. DRYDEN (the Prince of our *English* Poets) has given the following Character : *His Thoughts*, says he, *are always just, his Numbers harmonious, his Words chosen, his Expressions strong and manly, his Verse flowing, and his Turns as happy as they are easy.*

HE has appear'd in the most eminent Places of Honour and Trust, during the several Reigns he has liv'd in, which he always discharg'd with the utmost Loyalty and Fidelity.

IN his Youth, he took a Resolution, like most of his noble Ancestors, to signalize himself in the Wars ; and after having been in the great Sea-fight at *Sol-bay*, he was made Captain of the *Royal Catherine* ; and on the 29th of *May* 1674, install'd Knight of the Garter ; and soon after, made Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber to King *Charles II.* Colonel of the old *Holland* Regiment, Governor of *Hull* ; and was chosen to command the Forces sent to *Tangier*.

IN the first of *JAMES II.* he was sworn of the Privy-Council, and quickly after made Lord Chamberlain of the Household.

HE was likewise one of the Privy-Council to King *WILLIAM* ; and in the 6th of *WILLIAM* and *MARY*, created Marquis of *NORMANBY*.

IN the first of Queen *ANNE*, before her Coronation, he was made Lord Privy-Seal ; and the next Year 1703, created *Duke of BUCKINGHAMSHIRE and NORMANBY* : He was made also one of the Commissioners to treat of an Union with *Scotland*, one of the Privy-Council, Lord Lieutenant and *Custos Rotulorum* of the North-riding in *Yorkshire*, and one of the Governors of the Charter-house.

THIS noble Peer *JOHN SHEFFIELD* Duke of *Buckinghamshire*, married to his first Wife *UR-*

SULA,

SULA, the Daughter of Colonel STAWEL, and Widow of the Earl of CONWAY, by whom he had no Issue. He married, 2dly, the Lady CATHERINE, eldest Daughter of FULK GREVILLE, Lord BROOK, and Widow and Relict of BAPTIST NOEL, Earl of GAINSBOROUGH, who died *ann.* 1703-4, leaving no Issue.

HE married to his third Wife CATHERINE, natural Daughter to King JAMES II. (by CATHERINE SIDLEY, whom he created Countess of DORCHESTER, and who, after he was gone to *France* and dethron'd, married the Earl of PORTMORE) his Daughter by her he dignify'd with the Name of the Lady CATHERINE DARNLEY, gave her Place of a Duke's Daughter, and permitted her to bear his Arms. She was very young left a Widow by JAMES Earl of ANGLESEY, from whom she was parted at her own Request, (tho' long oppos'd by the Earl) by the unanimous consent of the King and both Houses of Parliament, for the Earl's Cruelty and causeless ill Usage of her, during the space of one Year which they only liv'd together. By her the Duke of BUCKINGHAM hath had Issue, first a Daughter christen'd SOPHIA, who died very young; and two Sons, to the first of which Queen ANNE, as Godmother, gave the Name of JOHN, who liv'd but three Weeks; and the year after, another Son, call'd ROBERT, and styl'd Marquis of NORMANBY, born *December* 11, *ann.* 1711, since dead; and afterwards a Daughter christen'd SOPHIA CATHARINA HENRIETTA SHEFFIELD, who liv'd till four years old. Afterwards he had a Son, christen'd by Dr. ATTERBURY late *Bishop of Rochester*; whom he left, when he died, a Child of five

years old, and is * now living, by the Grace of God, a Minor, and inherits his estate and Titles.

* *Anno 1729.* But died at *Rome*, in *October*, 1735.

On EDMUND Duke of BUCKINGHAM,
who died in the Nineteenth Year of his Age.
1735.

By Mr. POPE.

If Modest Youth, with Cool Reflexion crown'd,
And ev'ry opening Virtue blooming round,
Could save a Parent's justest Pride from Fate,
Or add one Patriot to a sinking State ;
This weeping Marble had not ask'd thy Tear,
Or sadly told, how many Hopes lie here !
The living Virtue now had shone approv'd,
The Senate heard him, and his Country lov'd.
Yet softer Honours, and less noisy Fame,
Attend the Shade of Gentle *Buckingham* :
In whom a Race, for Courage fam'd and Art,
Ends in the milder Merit of the Heart ;
And Chiefs or Sages long to *Britain* giv'n,
Pays the last Tribute of a Saint to Heav'n.

THE

THE LAST
WILL *and* TESTAMENT
OF HIS GRACE
JOHN,
DUKE OF
BUCKINGHAM.

*Made without Assistance, and left written in
his own Hand.*

WHENEVER Divine Providence shall
take me out of this world, to which
I devoutly submit, not only willingly
but chearfully, because fully persuaded that all
things are ordered for the best by infinite Wis-
dom and Goodness: Whenever, I say, that shall
happen, my Will is, and I give and devise to my
Kinsman the Earl of ORRERY, GEORGE Lord
WILLOUGHBY DE BROOK, THOMAS Lord
TREVOR, the Lord BATHURST, and PATRICK
GARDEN, Esq; their Heirs, Executors, and Af-
signes respectively, all my Manors and Lordships
of *Normanby, Burton, Butterwick, Crosby, Co-
nisby, and Flixborough* in the County of *Lincoln*,
with all their Rights, Members and Appurte-
nances,

nances, and also my Manor of *Dunsty* in *Yorkshire*, which I purchased many years since of Mr. FAIRFAX. I give all this in trust only, and for the sole use and benefit of such persons as I now do or shall hereafter nominate, appoint and chuse: And I also give and devise to the four before mentioned Persons, whom I hereby constitute my Executors, and to their Heirs for ever respectively, all my other real and personal Estate whatsoever, to be disposed of to such persons and to such uses only as I now do or shall hereafter direct and appoint.

IN the first place, my will and meaning is, that my dear Wife shall have during her life, my new-built house in *St. James's Park*, with the two wings adjoining, and all the Stables, Gardens, Courts and Green-houses thereunto belonging, with all my oil and water-coloured Pictures and Statues therein, except what I shall particularly mention and give away otherwise, either now or hereafter. But I give all these things and this House also before-mentioned for her life, upon this express condition only, that if my said Wife shall at any time marry again, then my Will and meaning is, that my said house, with the said two wings before-mentioned, Pictures and Statues, shall go forthwith to my eldest son and his Issue: And if all his Issue-male shall die, then to my eldest Daughter and her Issue: And if I leave no lawful Issue, then to a certain Youth called CHARLES HERBERT, now under the tuition of Monsr. BREZY at *Utrecht*. And if he should die without Issue, then to my two natural Daughters SOPHIA and CHARLOTE, now at a school in *Chelsea*. And here I declare most sincerely, that this restriction does not proceed from the least distrust of either her kindness or discretion, of both which I had always most ample proofs;

proofs; but this caution really proceeds from the same love that gives her this sort of legacy: Because tho' I never knew any one of her sex less likely to be imposed on by any of ours, yet there being no infallibility in human nature, I think I cannot take too much care in securing the happiness of her life whom I esteem and value so much: yet all other considerations should give place to Justice and Equity; and therefore because at our Marriage she was so particularly disinterested as sincerely to forbid my buying any Jewels for her, according to the custom, and even not to except her own by any reserve to her self, leaving them at my disposal, I therefore hereby give her entirely and for ever not only all those Jewels which she possessed before our Marriage, but all my other Jewels (except my three Georges, and Diamond Garter, which I hereby give to my Son now, in hopes he may one day deserve to wear them) to be her own, notwithstanding she shall happen to marry again. Also as a farther mark of my dependence on her kindness and discretion, I do not only leave all our children to her prudent care, but also my two natural Daughters SOPHIA and CHARLOTE, to whom she has been always most generously indulgent, without my having ever in the least desired it of her, because indeed I foresaw it would be objected to her meaner-minded wives, and warned her of it accordingly, knowing this to be no Age or Country likely to value such uncommon Virtue.

IN the next place my Will is, that my eldest Son and his Issue; and if I leave none, my eldest Daughter and her Issue, shall after my death have all my whole Estate real and personal; except still what I have given thus to my dear Wife, and shall give by other Dispositions to her or to any

other uses, or to my natural children. In the next place my Will and meaning is, that a Youth commonly called CHARLES HERBERT, who at present is at *Utrecht*, under the tuition of Monsr. BREZY, shall have seven thousand pounds paid by my Trustees at my death, and that my good Friend Mr. WILLIAM BROMLEY shall have the tuition of him till the age of 21 years, in case that worthy Gentleman will be so charitable to accept the care. Also my Will and meaning is, that two Girls called CATHERINE SOPHIA, and CHARLOTE, shall each of them have one thousand pounds a piece, paid for their use and benefit at the time of my death, or as soon after as can be, both of them having been for a great while educated at home by the kindness of my Wife, and since put by my direction and hers to a school at *Chelsea*; and I desire still they may be under my Wife's care and direction. I direct also, that all these three Children should carry my name and arms, with the accustom'd distinction of natural children.

I ALSO desire and direct my before-mentioned Trustees to dispose of all my Estate both real and personal, according to their judgment, for the advantage of all those to whom I have given it, particularly directing them to buy land by advice of Chancery with all the money which I have given hereby to my dearest Son as aforesaid; not in the least doubting but they will do it according to their best discretion, and as such prudent Trustees would do for themselves, my Will and Meaning being that my said Trustees shall run no hazard for themselves in so putting out the same. This I confess may be troublesome, tho' I am in hopes they will be so charitable as not to grudge it for the sake of a Friend, who otherwise
full

full of frailties, yet never in his whole life grudged or spared his pains and earnest endeavours either for his friends or the publick: They will also consider the necessity that dying men are under of thus imploying the care and kindness of the living, which must also one day be their own case. I must desire them also to accept of one hundred pounds a-piece to buy a ring, which I direct them to pay themselves in the first place, together with all expences which they shall any ways be put to about the performance of this my Will.

IF I should be so unhappy as that no legitimate Son nor Daughter of mine shall live to leave at any time that blessing of any child behind them, in such case of their dying thus without leaving any Issue behind them; I will and direct, that the before-mentioned CHARLES HERBERT and his Issue shall have all my Estate both real and personal, just in the same manner, and with the same restrictions and exceptions as to my Wife, and on condition also that he add five thousand pounds to each of my natural Daughters SOPHIA and CHARLOTE; and that he pays also to his Mother Mrs. LAMBERT, one thousand pounds. And if he shall die with only Issue Female, then I direct that all my Estate shall be equally divided among his Daughters, and my two Daughters SOPHIA and CHARLOTE: And if he shall die childless, then and in that case my Will and meaning is, and I direct that all my said real and personal Estate shall go to my two natural Daughters SOPHIA and CHARLOTE, with the same restrictions and exceptions. And in case I die without leaving any legitimate Issue-male, I give to my nearest Kinsman ROBERT SHEFFIELD of *Kensington*, all my Stock at the Allom-works,

works, on condition that he performs all contracts which I have with any person about Allom, so as none of the said persons may have cause to trouble my Executors by making demands upon them: And in case my said Kinsman shall not so engage to perform my said contracts, I hereby give all the said Stock at my Allom-works to CHARLES HERBERT before-mentioned.

PROVIDED nevertheless, and my Will and Meaning is, that all and every the limitations and devises herein before-mentioned made and given of my real Estate in manner and form as aforesaid to the several and respective persons before-named, or intended to take any real Estate in the premises, are to be and are understood to be upon this condition, that they and every of them, and also the husband and husbands of every such woman or women to whom any Estate is herein before limited or devised, shall within three months next after they severally come to be in the possession of any part thereof, take upon him, her, and them the surname of SHEFFIELD, and also endeavour to procure as soon as they can an Act of Parliament for the calling him, her, or them, by the Name of SHEFFIELD, and for the stiling themselves in all deeds and writings by the Surname of SHEFFIELD: And in case they or any of them, or the husband or husbands of any such woman or women shall refuse or neglect to take upon him, her, or them, the said surname of SHEFFIELD, within the space of three months in manner aforesaid, and shall not within three years use his, her, and their utmost endeavour to procure such Act of Parliament aforesaid, then my will is that the whole Estate and Estates herein devised to him, her, or them so refusing or neglecting, or to the
woman

woman or women whose husband or husbands shall so refuse or neglect, shall cease and be void ; and that then and from thenceforth it shall and may be lawful to and for such person or persons, who by virtue of this my will shall be next in remainder of the premisses, to enter into and enjoy the same, taking upon him, her, or them the surname of SHEFFIELD, and endeavouring to procure such Act of Parliament as afore-said.

AND I give fifty pounds among the poor of *Westminster*, where I have lived so long, and out of which I am not very likely to die, and therefore desire to be buried in the Abby, so as that my last dear Wife there already, and also my present dear Wife when dead, may both be laid by me, if my present Wife shall think it fitting, as she has often earnestly desired me to take care of it. And the only reason why I would not remove the body of my first Wife (having had the most extraordinary blessing of three kind and excellent Wives) is because it lies in the Country, and by her own Mother. And now if my last and dearest Wife should think fit to have any Monument bestowed on my grave, as her partiality to me has often made her express herself that way, I positively forbid it should cost above 500 pounds, besides and over and above the charge of my Funeral, which I also forbid to be any thing extraordinary : And I order and direct that these expences both of Funeral and Monument be paid out of that my personal Estate which I have given to my next heir. And since something is usually written on Monuments, I direct that the following lines shall be put on mine : viz. in one place,

Pro

Pro Rege sæpe, Pro Republica semper.

In another place,

*Dubius, sed non improbus vixi,
Incertus morior, sed inturbatus;
Humanum est nescire & errare:
Christum adveneror, Deo confido
Omnipotenti, benevolentissimo:
Ens entium, miserere mei.*

I ALSO hereby direct, give and bequeath to my before-mentioned Trustees and Executors all my money and all other my personal Estate not otherwise before given or disposed of, in trust that they or the Survivors or Survivor of them shall sell and dispose thereof for the most money that can be got for the same, and shall put out at interest such money for the best advantage they can make, till the same can be laid out by them in some good purchase of lands, tenements, or hereditaments in fee simple free from incumbrances: And they are hereby directed to make such purchase accordingly, and to settle the same lands, tenements, and hereditaments, to and upon the same persons and uses, and upon the like trusts, limitations, and conditions as my real Estate is in this my Will hereby given and devised; and I direct that the interest shall go as the rents and profits of the lands when purchased are to go.

I GIVE to the Dowager Lady LANESBOROUGH our Grandfather MIDDLESEX's Picture that hangs in my Wife's dressing-room, my Gold Watch I am used to wear, and my best Sapphire Ring. The Hunting Picture of REUBENS in my Salon must be restored to the last Earl of SUSSEX's Heirs, they giving back my bond for my restoring it, which I hereby direct accordingly.

ly. I give to Mr. BAINBRIDGE BUCKERIDGE one hundred pounds. I give the Countess Dowager of DENBY the little Picture of my own Father her great friend, which hangs in my Wife's dressing-room.

I GIVE my Wife all my coaches and horses and furniture of my house, except pictures and plate, which I give her only during her widowhood.

BUCKINGHAM.

Signed and sealed in the
presence of us,

JOHN ROTHERAM,
BAYNBRIGG BUCKERIDGE,
JOHN REED.

August 2, 1716.

SINCE

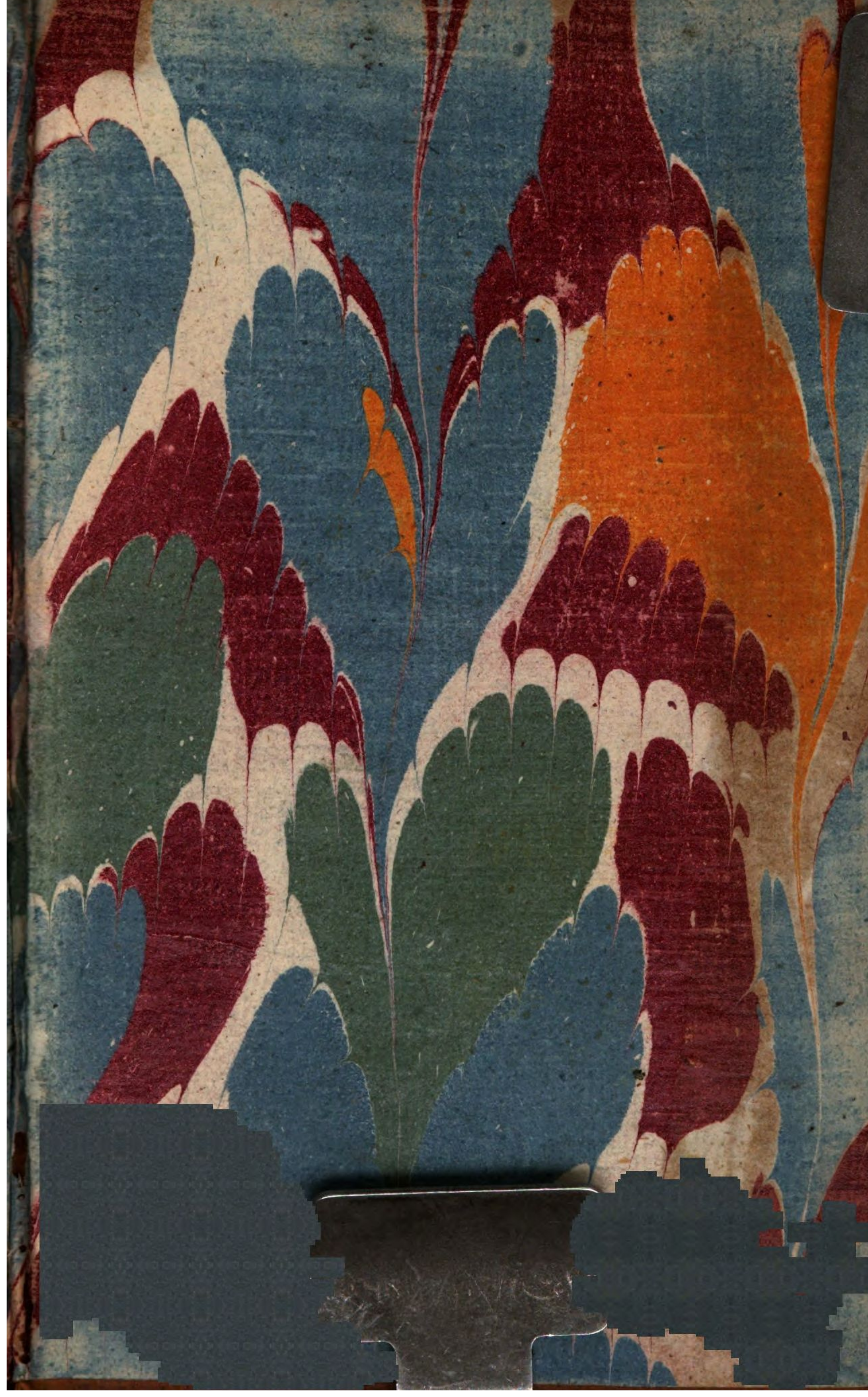
SINCE my Will written all some time ago with my own hand, an accident has happened (if an ill humour of the Lord ALTHAM's is to be called so) that has occasioned this Codicil which I now write in behalf of his wife. Therefore I hereby will and direct my Trustees mentioned in that my Will (*viz.*) the Dutches of BUCKINGHAM my Wife, the Lord WILLOWBY DE BROOK, the Lord TREVOR, and M. WILLIAM BROMLEY, to pay out of my Estate one hundred pounds yearly to MARY wife of the present Lord ALTHAM, and to pay it into her proper hands half yearly from my death, with which her husband shall have nothing to do, nor shall the same be subject to his controul or debts: The same to be payable and paid for and during so long time only as her said Husband will not permit her to live with him: Witness my hand and seal this twenty third day of *November*, 1717.

I AM afraid my Gift to my dear Wife in my former Will does not comprehend my Coaches and Horses, which are so necessary, for her, and therefore by this short Codicil I give her after my death, all my Coaches and Horses, and also one thousand Pound of my first money that can be got in to bear her present Expences. I also give a year's wages to those particular Servants only that have been employed about my chamber in my Sickness, meaning only my Valets de Chambre, and a few of her women. Witness my hand this 30th day of *December*, 1717.

BUCKINGHAM.

F I N I S.







Sheffield, John, 1648-1721

The Works of John Sheffield, Earl of Mulgrave, Marquis of Normanby, And
Duke of Buckingham In Two Volumes

Bd.: 2.

London (1753)

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